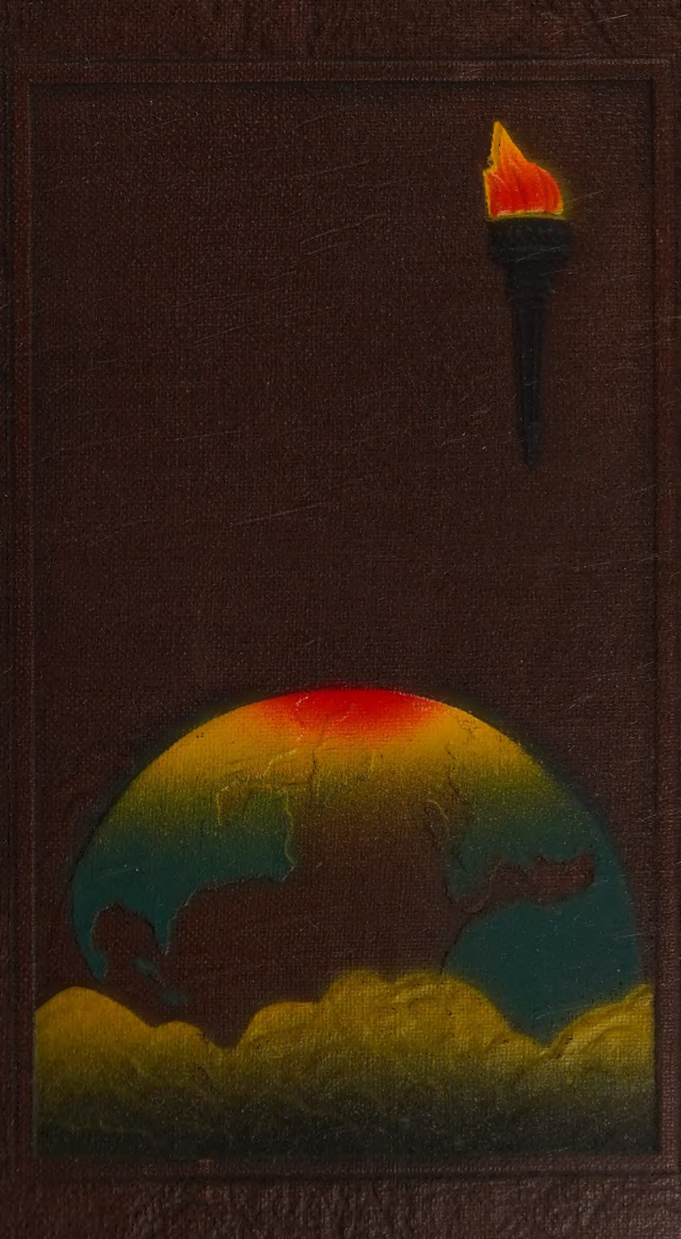

BEACON LIGHTS OF HISTORY

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"JOHN LORD, ARTIST HISTORIAN"

VOLUME VIII

PART I

NEW HALL OF FAME

PART II

PREMIER PERSONALITIES

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PART I

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DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

1863–

FLEXIBLE STATECRAFT

BEACON LIGHTS OF HISTORY

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

FLEXIBLE STATECRAFT

By JOHN McHUGH STUART

BETWEEN 1916 and 1922 four of the world's empires crashed into the dust of history—Germany, Russia, Austria, Turkey. With them went crashing the classes that had ruled their vast marches for centuries. For fifty years, up to the beginning of these epic seven, rumors of revolution or of war in any one of these four sovereignties would have sent cabinets tumbling throughout Europe. The period 1916-1922 was no exception.

The great war was being fought. Yet no fewer than seven hands strained one after the other at the helm of France's ship of state; Italy had eight Prime Ministers; the United States for the first time assumed its place as a world power and an American protagonist in the world drama, Woodrow Wilson, loomed and faded. How many other figures came on, played

a part and retired to the wings? There was Joffre, and Haig, and Tirpitz, and Hindenburg, and Clemenceau. Germany had no less than eleven Chancellors—and there was the Kaiser.

Through this universal flux stood one exception. In 1916 the British Empire settled into its war stride. David Lloyd George was made Prime Minister. And for nearly every moment of that whole seven years, no matter who spoke for France or who for Germany, who for any other of the world's nations, his was the voice that spoke for Britain at council table and in conference, over the green baize of diplomacy or the red field of battle, in the peaceful English shires or beneath the southern stars, wherever and whenever the tides of Armageddon touched the far-flung British line. Constantly and everywhere the voice of Britain, unquestioned and authentic, was the voice of this son of an humble schoolmaster.

While Wilhelm of Hohenzollern saw the military and commercial empire his house had built crumble beneath the strain he put upon it, this little Welsh attorney wrought among and organized the industries of England, forged the greatest fighting force of English speaking men in history, won a war in which for the first time every national fibre was tested, and guided his nation back to peace. The Hohenzollern had been bred for centuries, had been

trained throughout his life to conceive on the imperial scale, to plan with the world as his checkerboard, to command without question the ordered ranks his experts had organized. The Welshman had been bred for a struggle for mere existence, had trained himself by contact with and mastery of life's minutiae, how to get enough to eat, enough to wear and enough to keep a home together. He was expert in improvization to meet the seamiest necessities of life, the sort of thing that *Deutschtum* scorned as inefficiency.

Now the Hohenzollern is a suspected exile in a shabby country house in Holland where even his dreams of the future are painted with colors from the discarded palette of the political past. Yet whenever England speaks today the world still asks "What does Lloyd George say about it?" However he may be hampered by the ill chances of domestic political fortune his personality is still a factor to be reckoned with in determinating the policies of his country as they affect the world. His personality more than his policy was responsible for his fall at the general election of 1922. England had become tired of his glitter, irrespective of whether his substance was gold or dross.

His friends say he fell like Aristides, because Britons were tired of hearing him called "the just" on so many sides of so many shifting issues through

his kaleidoscopic times. His enemies say they were tired of that very shiftiness of his. The physical make-up of the man symbolizes at least a fluidity of character, a Celtic adaptability which, however much the English may have employed it during the days when adaptability meant everything, they never really liked it or esteemed it.

He is five feet six and a half inches high and he weighs in the neighborhood of 158 pounds of pretty fit flesh. He is one of the best dressed men in England, and he moves with a quick and easy vigor that marks him as a man of action despite his looming brow and the reflective expression his bright eyes frequently assume. He has no mannerisms to speak of, unless it be his legs, and legs are probably not a mannerism.

The cartoonist can eliminate his rather long hair, his eyes, his mustache, his hands—none of these alone would spell Lloyd George. But the legs do. His enemies say their shortness, their decided inward bend at the knees and their relative insignificance beneath his fine head and torso reveal the weakness of the man's character. But assertion of the weakness implies certain premises as to the character, and premises as to the character are most often based on the pulchritude of Mr. Lloyd George's upper parts alone.

Lloyd George's legs are not unlike the legs of a

slightly scissor hocked burro. No one who knows anything about a burro would call its legs indicative of a defect in the burro's character. The burro is particularly valuable for its sure footedness in difficult places. Mr. Lloyd George's legs, like the burro's, are highly indicative of one of the most valuable elements in his character, ornamental only to those who know their inner usefulness.

But, consonant with the whole character though the legs may be, with them Mr. Lloyd George's characteristic resemblance to the burro ceases. Upon these agile, useful foundations, always incased in carefully creased trousers, rises the comfortable paunch of a middle aged man who enjoys but does not abuse the good things of life, the broad chest and easily squared shoulders of a man perfectly at ease before men, the taut neck and well modelled chin of one given to decision, the clean, firm, but expressively mobile mouth beneath its white shadow of a mustache, the solid, well shaped nose, the big, broad brow and the eyes.

And if Mr. Lloyd George's legs tell the tale of one element in his character—sure footed agility—the eyes tell the tale of another, its coequal in importance. They are bright in color, but one forgets whether they are brown or blue, for they sparkle with the ingenuous merriment of blue and they shadow with

the deeper emotions more capably reflected in brown. Ten feet away from him across the press tables at a public meeting I have seen the color of his eyes go black with anger—black as the eyes of a terrier aroused. Ten feet away from him across a breakfast table I have seen them go pale blue with merriment over some tale. What is the actual pigment of his iris? Sitting here writing, I do not know. They are like the eyes of a great actor in their ability to reflect the whole gamut of human emotions; but they are unlike the eyes of a histrion in two ways: they are highly perceptive as well as expressive organs, and they reflect their own, not vicarious feelings.

Take, then, these two characteristics, the agile ability to put himself in any place and in any one else's place, and his capacity to perceive and to feel; add to them the capacity to select and arrange by intellectual processes the infinite number of impressions thus gained plus equal ability to express the result in a manner to move other persons—and you have the main structure of the personal mechanism that is Lloyd George. It is an outline which accords with his history and is confirmed by every personal contact with the man.

His history is briefly this. He was born in 1863 in one of the least savory districts of dirty, busy Manchester. His father was a schoolmaster in the

small and struggling Unitarian church school. But even the moral and intellectual parenthood of a hard driven, half starved free church schoolmaster was taken away from the young David when he was one year old. His first recollections rise from a village cobbler's shop in Carnarvon whither his widowed mother moved with her brood to keep house for the village cobbler, her brother-in-law. The Prime Minister has himself recounted how that mother saved and struggled to hold from the frugal expenses of the household sixpence a week for her boy.

But out of that hard existence she and he contrived a good general schooling for him. His charm of personality and his oratorical ability soon developed and he was not long past his majority when he had seized for himself a seat in Parliament and a garret shared with a brother Welsh youngster in Lincoln's Inn. There was penury then and there has been something akin to penury in Lloyd George's life throughout until Andrew Carnegie bequeathed him an annuity of $10,000 a year.

There were fifteen long years of law practice during which he said his partner was richer than he only because the expenses of a lawyer who was also a Member of Parliament, then without salary, were greater than the expenses of a lawyer who was not. And it was only in 1905 that he succeeded at the end

of the long Tory regime in securing salaried office as President of the Board of Trade, to which his talents and his yeoman service to the Liberal party in Parliament entitled him.

Three years later he moved up to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and with the beginning of his historic fights to reform the budget began his really controlling influence in the direction of the affairs of his country. And it was a controlling influence that from that time on was exerted to the liberalization of no less a human institution than the British Constitution.

If the greatness of England can be summed up in a single phrase it is probably this: the historic ability of the English to liberalize their constitution as succeeding kinds of privilege became intrenched and oppressive, only some day to be eradicated. So it was with Arthur and the roving knights; in the opposite sense so it was with the Barons and King John; so it was in the wars between church and state. Since violence led to the loss of King Charles's head these things have generally been brought about without bloodshed. But the explorers, colonizers and merchants, the "nabobs," took over much of the prestige of the feudal aristocracy between the fifteenth and the nineteenth century and since the beginnings of the nineteenth century with the introduction of steam

an industrial and commercial aristocracy has been rapidly assuming control in Britain, signalling their victory over the land-owning aristocracy as far back as the reform of the corn laws and consolidating it ever since by the political scheme that has made English towns into noxious powerful hives of industry and the fat English countryside into a pleasant and profitless park for the mighty.

Now this industrial and commercial aristocracy is being challenged in England as nowhere else in the world. The Labor Party is forthright in its demand for a completely socialized state—this for England of today, the modern England whose greatness rests above all on commerce and industry. It was a commerce and industry developed on three points of support: free trade, cheap coal and labor, and access to the markets of the world. Cheap coal and labor are no more; half the world's markets have been destroyed by the war; and, more and more, hard pressed manufacturers are questioning the wisdom of free trade. The Labor Party, seeing the industrial system of Great Britain stagger under these blows, proposes to wipe it out and develop through the socialized state the delicate business of finding work for and feeding forty million people on an island in the northern ocean who must import eighty percent of their sustenance.

Here stands Lloyd George. He began life as an arrant radical; yet the last political act of his war-time Prime Ministership was to summon all parties to coalesce against socialism as they coalesced in the great war. Perhaps the greatest political speech he ever made was his famous denunciation of the dukes, the great land owners who through their ownership of mines and industrial freeholds were become also great industrialists. Yet one of the last pictures taken of him as Prime Minister showed him in Scotland at a shooting party on a great estate. He was riding a little white moor pony. The Duke of Athol led that pony by the bridle rein. Even Napoleon never aspired to a Duke at his bridal rein! So it is that one of those personal highlights that makes the dull processes of the world dramatic is the part Lloyd George will play in England's coming struggle.

There can be no doubt of his early radicalism. He had little chance to be anything else. Non-conformist, intelligent, imaginative, poor, a lawyer and a politician, his natural trend was to seek a remedy, through politics, for the ills and the suffering he saw about him. His detractors say he took up the radical cause as the quickest road to personal advancement. It is interesting to speculate what his development would have been had he begun his career now, after the Russian revolution, instead of thirty-five years ago

when trade unionism was the soul of the then radicalism and just beginning to show its strength.

At any rate his first political efforts were attacks on privilege and demands for the amelioration of the lot of the lower classes. He was against the Boer war because he was against sending working boys out to be killed and to kill the Boer farmer. He was so fiercely against it that he was mobbed one night in Manchester when he made a pacifist speech. He had to be smuggled out a back door, his short figure hidden in the middle of a group of six-foot policemen.

Then came the Limehouse speech and his great fights for the reform of the budget. His own utterances indicate that the winning of that fight represented the attainment of his ambitions so far as reform of England's economic structure at home is concerned. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Asquith's cabinet and his chief backed him up nobly in the fight. It was a bitter fight. It was an attack on all that was pleasant and happy and confortable in England—and how pleasant and happy and comfortable things were in the great mansions of town and the stately homes amidst the hunting country!—on behalf of all that was drab and drudging and miserable—and how drab and drudging and miserable were the industrial slums of London's East End and the textile towns and the black country! Lloyd

George fought it without gloves. He incurred the bitter enmity of all those who were rich and powerful and comfortable. It is an open secret that, in common with most of the gentle folk who dispensed charity out of their abundance, the present King, then Prince of Wales, regarded Lloyd George as deeply dangerous. He long cherished a bitter personal resentment against the tar-tongued upstart lawyer who said such nasty things about his amiable friends.

But Lloyd George won his fight. When he was through the burden of British taxation had been shifted to unproductive, inherited and ultraprofitable property and the great body of employees, small manufacturers, dealers and workpeople, the surplus mouths which it is always Britain's task to feed, were benefited by the old age pension and the national insurance schemes. To an American, from a land where there is always work for the fit, Lloyd George's own reforms may well seem socialistic. The fact remains that the vast bulk of British opinion, conservative as well as liberal, has come to accept them as a wise adjustment of a balance between the classes in England that had been allowed to swing woefully awry before he began his fight.

In 1914, then, he probably exceeded his chief, Mr. Asquith in popularity and in power. Mr. Asquith had forced the reform of the House of Lords in his

futile effort to settle the Irish question, of which Lloyd George so creditably was to acquit Great Britain eight years later, and Mr. Asquith had stepped close to the brink of ruin over the consequences in Ulster where Orangemen and British soldiers alike were in open defiance of his government's policy.

It has been charged that Germany chose this ticklish juncture to force the issue of war upon the continent, believing that England's Irish troubles would be a factor in keeping her out. It has been charged that had the then Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, spoken less equivocally, had he made it plain at Berlin that the violation of Belgian neutrality would bring Great Britain in, Germany would have held her hand and the war would have been avoided or at least localized in the Balkans, where they like war. Mrs. Asquith in her diary has but thinly veiled the charge that inability to get Lloyd George, the one-time pacifist of the Boer War, and second to the Prime Minister in rank only, to commit himself definitely for or against hostilities was responsible for a hesitation that was to prove costly beyond the nightmares of horror.

It seems probable that he did hesitate at this, his first responsible contact with *weltpolitik,* and all it implied in methods strange to him, in terms repugnant to his ideas of life. He has said of it himself,

"If we had had a conference under the new methods we would not now have ten provinces in France awaiting repair." However Lloyd George, Mr. Asquith or Lord Grey may have hesitated, Mr. Churchill has revealed that the British fleet was ready and at sea; others have shown how completely plans for the British Expeditionary Force long had been mapped out and co-ordinated with the plans of the French General Staff so far as plans and co-ordination could avail in the use of inadequate means to stem a tide of unforeseen sweep and power.

However costly Mr. Lloyd George's hesitation may have been there can be no gainsaying his contribution from the very moment the war began. In his greater achievements later on it is sometimes forgotten with what skill the Chancellor of the Exchequer of 1914 mobilized the Empire's greatest moneyed brains about him and made effective the first gigantic financing of the war. From that moment on he never wavered. More and more this great war called forth not the soldier and the sailor only, but every man, woman and child, every machine in the Empire, the whole mother nation and her brood. And more and more this popular policitian who had risen to power through his appeals for the sweating humanity he knew so well was called upon to handle that humanity in the mass. As the war became less and less a question of victory by

military or diplomatic skill and more and more a question of victory by national morale Lloyd George's stature grew.

"All the money you need," had been his contribution from the Exchequer—and he had found the money. "Shells, shells, shells," he had cried as Minister of Munitions and he had gone up and down Britain cajoling, forcing, inspiring miners, machinists, labor leaders, capitalists, until Haig's growing hosts could answer drumfire with drumfire.

Hence it was to this Lloyd George who did things that Britain turned in the dark days of 1916 when it became apparent that the burden of years and the cloying of tradition had dulled the brilliant mind, slowed the deft hand and muffled the weighty voice that once was Asquith.

When Lloyd George became Prime Minister it was a dark time for the Allies. Every military calculation indicated a victory for the Central powers. Russia had collapsed and from the Suez Canal to the North Sea soldiers thrust here and there more with the thought of not quitting than of carrying out any hopeful plan to smash the long convex line behind which were massing the new legions released on the east and soon to be available for the final blow on the west. At sea the submarine warfare was rapidly coming onto even terms with the blockade. Propa-

ganda began to countersap the Italian front. Wilson had been elected on the slogan "he kept us out of war" and was engaged in an apparently interminable exchange of notes with Germany until American indignation could be brought to the boiling point. Defeatism began to show its ugly head in France.

But not in England. Lloyd George had stripped the problem to this essential—he had sensed the basic fact that the war must be won on national nerve. He proceeded to function as that nerve. He proceeded to the development in the Allies of the quality that athletes call "guts," and to its destruction in his opponents. He visualized on a world scale the quality that keeps a man running when fatigue has deprived him of any sense of having legs. And when, on July 14, 1918, William of Hohenzollern climbed a great wooden tower north of the Champagne, as Edmond Rostand described it in one of his last poems, to see the fiery beginning of the blow his military experts told him would be the last, the victorious one, another expert, a little Welsh lawyer, an expert in the human heart and its functioning, had prepared the demonstration that so rapidly was to show which system was to prevail, the system of expert dispensation from above or the system of expert building up from below, the system of human ballistics or the system of human nature.

This, to my mind, is Lloyd George's great contribution to the war, his great contribution to history. He, pre-eminently, sensed the problem as it was. And not only did he sense it, but, with the experience of his struggle from the cobbler's shop of Llanystymdwy to Downing Street, he was master of the technique that solved it.

He was constantly in trouble with the technicians on his own side. Labor told him he would ruin the production of munitions if he took skilled men for cannon-food; but he took the men, and, putting women in their places, enlisted still more of the nation's heart and soul in the fight. The army told him its morale would be ruined were any but a Briton to command; he brought about the unity of command for lack of which so many gallant efforts had been wasted and for the first time gave the Allied peoples the great stimulus of a single central hero to worship, a Foch. The diplomats screamed discreetly to get him to hurry the entry of the United States into the war; yet under him Britain preserved just that attitude of disinterested interest in America that permitted anti-British prejudice to be wiped out in the tide of anti-German indignation.

In propaganda he was a marvel. With suave ferocity he distorted the black facts of the situation to just that psychic color that made masses of men

groan between their teeth and go on hoping and doing, doing more, more than they believed themselves capable of. He lied magnificently. He lied about the number and the condition of the troops in France and these lies came back to plague him when the world settled back to the petty scale of peace. He lied statistically on the submarine situation and America today has a thousand ships rotting on her rivers. They accused him of interfering with his generals in France when in fact he was creating an atmosphere for the House of Commons. And when at last his own forces had been coddled, cajoled, cursed, spurred, inspired and, with the help of America, brought to the point where they could meet the Kaiser's blow, turn it and riposte victoriously; he took on Lord Northcliffe to send aeroplanes over the German lines dropping propaganda which, if not lies, was a very distant cadet branch of the noble family of truth in the light of events subsequently transpired. And his offensive propaganda was as effective as his defensive.

It may be true that Lloyd George knew nothing of and tended to bungle the tactics and the strategy of many phases of the war. It cannot be denied that he was the supreme master of that broader policy and its practice which won the war when strategy and tactics had failed, which won it against ap-

parently insuperable odds, the policy of handling nations as composites of the qualities found in all men, women and children, the policy that understood human nature however ignorant it might be of its devices and machines, the policy that reckoned on feeling no less than on pure reason.

After the war came the peace. After the fighting came the talking, after the battlefield the conference table. The captains and the kings departed but the tumult and the shouting concentrated about the Salle d'Horloge in the Quai d'Orsay and the Press Room at the Hotel Crillon in Paris. It is certain that the art of Lloyd George usually at its best in conference, was less effective here than it had been in the war. There are two reasons for this. Other shrewd statesmen had seen the virtues of and hastened to imitate his method; and his broad, impressionistic strokes were less effective in those narrow rooms than they had been across the continents and the seas of war.

He had won the war with a brass band and its rousing blare irritated ears attuned for chamber music. During the war the band had blared harmoniously to drown out a single enemy. Now every player in the band from double bass to piccolo had a separate tune to play and tried to make of himself a whole and independent band. Every national interest, every domestic political jealousy had its loud echo

in Paris and at other meeting places during these long days of 1919, 1920, 1921, and 1922, while the endless treaties and agreements of Versailles, Neuilly, St. Germain, Rapallo, London, Brussels, San Remo, Spa, Cannes, and Genoa were discussed and framed. It is barely time to judge the war. It is yet too early to judge the peace, or the peaces. Let this confession be added to the evidence, for what it is worth, however. As a newspaper reporter condemned to send a daily report of the progress of these talks for four years over the insatiable cable I plead guilty many times to an unconquerable impatience with their inconsequentiality. But as I look back over their scope, as I think of the various brass bands that filled our ears here and there, as I remember the "crisis that will come tomorrow" and tomorrow and tomorrow, I marvel that so much has really been done.

In January, 1922, Lloyd George, on the eve of the conferences at Washington and at Genoa was addressing a party meeting of his followers in London. His leadership at home was being seriously challenged and one of the grounds of that challenge was the ineffectiveness of his foreign policy as reflected in the results of the conferences. Speaking of the coming Washington conference he said: "It is establishing peace in the great West, and I am looking forward to the Genoa Conference to establish peace in the

East. They will be like the two wings of an angel hovering over the world. Interchange of views and removal of prejudices are all-important. Four-fifths of the difficulties of the world come from suspicions; most quarrels are bred in suspicion which could be removed by sensible interchange of opinions. Much has been accomplished, and I am hopeful of much more. Nothing has ever done so much to restore a good understanding between the United States of America and ourselves, and the peace of the world largely depends upon that foundation.

"There are those who would go back to the old diplomacy. You cannot argue with a dispatch, you cannot reason with a diplomatic message. We must come face to face. I have a profound faith in the ultimate reason of man. I believe my fellow men made in the image of God. It shocks me when people want to return to the old diplomacy, because the results of it have been devastation.

"If we had had a conference under the new methods we would not now have ten provinces in France awaiting repair. Men who hate conferences are men who dislike realities. There is a conference to be held in Genoa. It will be the greatest international conference ever held. All the nations of Europe have been invited, because we want to end

wars and the rumors of wars. You cannot build up business on the rocking foundations of earthquakes.

"The gibers say 'Another conference? Forty-five delegates and a thousand experts—what extravagance!' Yes, a thousand experts—financial, diplomatic and economic. They are cheaper than military experts. There has just been an argument between the same nations lasting for four and one-half horrible years. There were 30,000,000 men engaged in the controversy. Ten millions were left dead. Ten more millions were left mutilated. Fifty thousand millions was the expense."

Face to face with men over a problem at the conference table there can have been few men in history Lloyd George's equal. He knows this and he has used this power throughout his career. There must have been many liberals of the early days of this century ill at ease with the Lloyd Georgian fiscal doctrines. But he carried that great party and its great leader, Mr. Asquith, with him to victory in the budget fight. Not long ago I heard Lord Younger, whip of the Conservative Party, admit that in those days he, too, had many conferences with "the little Welshman."

"And what a charming fellow he is," Lord Younger added in his fashion of restrained Scottish whimsy.

He went on to boast, in his same restrained fashion that he got more out of the conferences than Lloyd

George did. And that represents both the strength and the weakness of the man and his method. Conference invariably leads to compromise. Those are not lacking to charge that compromise was the great weakness of the Allied conduct of the war and the Allied conduct of the peace. It was compromise that eventually led to the polite break between England and France over reparations. True, Lloyd George had gone from power when it came. Perhaps if he had remained Prime Minister he would still have been trying to compromise with M. Poincaré, ill adapted to adaptability as that statesman may be.

But the break had its orgins in the compromises Lloyd George had charmed out of M. Briand. The two men were ideally suited to such a method. Once when J. H. Thomas, the leader of British railway labor, was tearing the air with oratory in a conference with Lloyd George the Prime Minister cut in suddenly with, "Now, that's all very well for the heathen—but remember I'm a Welshman, too."

He might have, he probably did say the same thing to M. Briand during one of the many meetings they had during three years in almost every pleasant place up and down the continent of Europe and the islands off its coasts. Briand was born in Brittany where the national flower is the onion. He began life as an anarchist to wind up as a rich and witty bourgeois.

Lloyd George began life in Wales where the national flower is the leek. He began life as a seamy radical to wind up as a polished bourgeois. Briand boasted that with his ear tuned to the Brittany patois he could understand Welsh. It was more true than the literal truth that these two men spoke the same language. It was Celt to Celt. With Poincare and Bonar Law it was Gael to Gaul, and they broke.

Briand fell first from power, outwardly because the moving pictures showed Mr. Lloyd George teaching him golf to the distress of all Frenchmen, inwardly because, out of the nature of conference, he had to concede something to his fellow in conference and Poincaré and his friends were able to raise the most potent of all political issues against him. They were able to charge that he was abandoning the rights of France to the foreigner.

About the same time Carpentier, the French boxing idol, was beaten by Jack Dempsey, the American heavyweight, and some of the lyrical French reporters of the battle declared that it was due to the hypnotic influence of Dempsey's fighting eye. With Briand ruined by golf and Carpentier by the hypnotic eye, M. Poincare took no chances. There never was a real conference between him and Mr. Lloyd George, and European affairs came to an obvious standstill, ex-

cept that M. Poincare's friends shrewdly made trouble for Mr. Lloyd George with the Turks.

M. Poincare wouldn't come near enough to Mr. Lloyd George for talk and compromise; the Turk was coming so near to the little British line at Chanak that he thought no compromise was necessary; and Mr. Lloyd George was guilty of the second serious error of his career in his judgment of public opinion. The first was when he went against the Boer War. This second one was his belief that the Empire would respond to a war cry against the Turk in behalf of Britain's traditional task of protecting Christian minorities in the Near East. Headed by the powerful Rothermere press, the Empire responded with roars of protest that gave the party meeting of Tories in the Carlton Club the support necessary to break the coalition and send Mr. Lloyd George from office.

But before he fell he saw the achievement of another, his third great task for the British Empire. He concluded the signing of a treaty with the real leaders of the Irish people. During the seven hundred years of hateful interference between Ireland and England other settlements had been reached. But this treaty that Lloyd George signed was the first to which was brought the essential element of support by a substantial majority of the Irish people themselves. Its cosmic importance may be less than

his achievements in the World War and its imperial results may not be greater than the reform of the budget, but, for display of sheer political virtuosity, it is Lloyd George's masterpiece.

Never had the feeling between Ireland and England been so bitter. In the days of Strongbow, in the days of Cromwell, in the days of Castlereagh, or "bloody" Balfour, or in the more recent times of Carson and Redmond and Asquith there had been nothing like the hatred that blazed on both sides of the Irish Sea in 1920 and 1921. Irish turf still smoked with the blood of the Irish patriot martyrs of 1916 and Britain's deep wounds of war still smarted with the memory of Roger Casement. In England's weariness Ireland saw her chance and outrage and murder replied to murder and outrage, neither side willing or able to assume the healthier strain of open war. No British statesman was ever so heartily mistrusted in Ireland as was Lloyd George—and that is saying a very great deal indeed. Yet, persistently and as deviously as water seeking its own level through mountains of obstacles, this Cymric Celt sought contact with the minds of other Celts. No Anglo-Saxon mind could have coped with the Irish as did the Welsh Lloyd George.

He struck in the underhanded and terrible warfare in Ireland when he thought there was a psychological

need to strike—his responsibility for the horrors of the Black and Tans was direct and personal. Yet when the time came for conciliation he held out his hand, surreptitiously at first, openly in the end, but persistently, through rebuff and through insult.

It was America that finally determined him upon the ultimately successful policy of conciliation. De Valera had made his triumphal tour of the United States as President of the Irish Republic in 1919, and, with headquarters in the Waldorf Hotel in New York, he had organized a tremendously successful propaganda here. More important still he had organized a steady flow of cash. If this strange Spanish-Irish-American is to have a place in history it will be for the success of his embassy to the United States. He had interested Americans of Irish blood to the second and third and fourth generation. His propaganda was one of calm statement and cool statistic. As its result, when De Valera was back in Ireland in 1921, the pay envelopes of America were sending weekly installments to Ireland that made it possible for him to keep up the murderous, skillful combat with the Black and Tans.

Lloyd George knew this. The British intelligence service was aware of the huge remittances coming across the Atlantic but was powerless to stop them as they came from a friendly nation and went to a part

of the Kingdom where warfare was never openly admitted. The Black and Tan policy had depended for its success on terrorization of the Irish guerillas supposedly short of arms, ammunition and food before the news of the British counter-atrocities could become notorious. The Irish were not without arms, ammunition and food; and the news of such things as the destruction of Balbriggan and the burning of Cork provided fertile stimulus for American contributors to the very funds that enabled the Irish to prolong their resistance further. Mr. Lloyd George had a bear by the tail.

At this juncture, May, 1921, there came to London Martin H. Glynn of Albany, N. Y. He had been Governor of the State of New York and had nominated Woodrow Wilson for the Presidency in 1916. Because of a sincere personal admiration and affection for both men and without thought of political results, I had him to luncheon to meet Mr. Philip Kerr, the brilliant young Scotsman who was at that time Mr. Lloyd George's political secretary. Mr. Kerr invited Mr. Glynn to the gallery of the House of Commons next day, a special invitation being necessary because at the moment the public was excluded from the precincts of the House actually because of a well-founded fear that some Irishman might get in and commit an outrage.

From the gallery Mr. Glynn was invited to call upon the Prime Minister in his private office. Both men are orators, both good story tellers and both have much personal charm. First came tea, then cigars, long cigars; and then Mr. Lloyd George spoke the trouble that was in him. He wanted to know why Americans sent money to Ireland. He could not have asked a better man. Mr. Glynn, who is Irish of the third generation, told him of his own contributions and of the proportion of the employees of his newspaper who, whether Irish or not, were, of their own free will, having deductions made from their weekly pay to buy Irish bonds. He told him he believed his own plant a fair example of what was going on generally. Mr. Lloyd George believed him.

"If sensible fellows like you are contributing," he said, "and if as many other people as you say are contributing, it can't be stopped."

There followed some more conversation and then Mr. Lloyd George said,

"The one way to settle the Irish question is for the Irish leaders to get about the round table with us and thresh out our differences at close range. I will meet Mr. De Valera or any of the Irish chiefs without imposing conditions on my part and without exacting promises from them. You can tell that to your Irish friends—you can tell it to De Valera."

Up to this time Mr. Lloyd George had always hedged his offers of negotiation either by demanding recognition of the Crown or barring from the conference certain Irish leaders on whose heads the British military had set a price. Mr. Glynn was called back to America the next day and it fell to my lot to carry this first unqualified invitation to De Valera. There followed months of haggling over the formula in which the public invitation would go forth in a manner not to weaken before hand the position of either side. The formula was arrived at through the busy brain and equally busy legs of Sir Alfred Cope, then an under secretary in Dublin Castle —about whom and about Mr. Lloyd George's American connections more later—and by autumn the round table conferences that produced the treaty between the two nations had begun.

One week the London press, inspired from Downing Street, heaped filth on the head of Michael Collins as "chief of the murder gang." The next week it was singing his praises as a cavalier genius. He was in conference with Lloyd George, with Winston Churchill, even with that Lord Birkenhead who as "Galloper Smith" was one of the evil genii of Ulster in 1914. And in a matter of weeks the foundation for Irish understanding was well and truly laid.

It was laid along the lines of another great change

in the British constitution which will be ascribed to the consulship of Lloyd George, however large a part he had in its development, for he was the first of British Prime Ministers to give open and definite form to the new partnership of the dominions in the affairs of Empire.

The basic formula upon which the Irish peace was founded was the agreement of the representatives of the Irish people to come loyally into "the commonwealth of nations" known as the British Empire. It was Lloyd George who applied this doctrine explicitly to the other nations in that commonwealth when he said to the dominion prime ministers gathered at Downing Street for the Imperial Conference of 1921,

"It used to be said that Downing Street ran the Empire. Now I must in truth say to you that the Empire is running Downing Street."

And he paid for his belief in that doctrine with his political life. For when, in 1922, the crisis came with the Turks at Chanak, instead of declaring war and summoning these dominions to the imperial standard, as, technically, he had the right to do, he issued his famous proclamation asking for the backing of the Empire in that crisis. The Empire did not see the crisis as sharply as he did. Some of the dominions hung back. Some openly disagreed with

him. And, instead of finding a united people behind him as he might have, had he put the Empire into war first, he himself was overthrown in the uncertainty.

Beyond doubt it was a tremendous fall. Without a country-wide party organization and with hardly more than one newspaper in Great Britain friendly to him, he came from the general election of 1922 poor indeed in political coin. He was cast back to the very early days of his career. He was financially embarrassed, and when he took to writing for the newspapers to recoup his bank balance he was successful in that respect alone. The bitterness of the hard loser glowered and flamed in every thing he wrote. At home his articles won him only a bored resentment. By the middle of 1923 only the Francophiles in Britain were listening to him and they with angry resentment against his constant castigation of M. Poincaré.

At this stage of the game Sir Alfred Cope came again into Mr. Lloyd George's career. This young man, half ascetic, half gay blade, but wholly enthusiast and sound and pure as gold within, had been so pleased at the Irish settlement that he gave up his assured career in the British Civil Service, a career leading to years of respectable service and a comfortable pension, to throw in his lot as a political

manager with the political fortunes of Mr. Lloyd George. He not only saw his own career vanishing, but he accused himself of being responsible for Lloyd George's misfortunes. He had forced the Irish settlement and the Irish settlement had alienated what support Lloyd George had among the real Tories of the Coalition. The real Tories were the instruments of vengeance at the meeting in the Carlton Club which broke the Coalition.

So Sir Alfred Cope set himself to find the road back, out of loyalty to his chief and out of intelligent self interest. Americans who had met Lloyd George always like him. His newspaper articles were keeping him favorably in the public eye in America as they were not doing at home. Mr. Lloyd George had long promised himself and his many American callers that some day he was coming to the great new land over the seas. Sir Alfred was the man who induced him to make the final decision to come and Sir Alfred was the man who came ahead of him and, in the hands of the American go-getter and Rotarian, let himself arrange a program that not only assured him of his chief's popularity in Canada and the United States, but actually terrified that chief with its rigors of handshaking and speechmaking to the point where his friendship with Cope was seriously bent, if not broken.

The net result, however, was an enormous demonstration of how the free-born American citizen can cheer for a democratic legend. Only the "*Daily Chronicle*" of the British papers sent a staff correspondent with Lloyd George and the hostile rest prepared to ignore or to scorn him. The *Chronicle's* accounts of audiences vaster than any possible in Britain and of enthusiasm more freely expressed than any Britain would deem quite seemly forced them into some measure of the same publicity themselves. And then Mr. Lloyd George had one of his lucky breaks.

The reparations situation seemed to be at a deadlock with affairs in the Ruhr getting nearer and nearer to disaster every day. Rolling through Canada one Monday morning Mr. Lloyd George, asked by the newspaper correspondents on the train what the answer to it all would be, said,

"The only solution of Europe's difficulties lies through the acceptance of the proposals made last year by your Mr. Secretary Hughes. But they were turned down," and he looked gravely out the car window. "Now I don't know what will happen."

That remark was telegraphed all over the world. The correspondent of the Associated Press on the train was keen enough to send to his Washington Bureau a request that a question as to the then status of the

Hughes proposals be submitted at the meeting of President Coolidge with the Washington correspondents, scheduled for the next morning. The next morning that question was asked, and the answer was,

"The Hughes proposals still stand, but the initiative this time must come from Europe. We will participate in an independent investigation of Germany's capacity to pay, but all the nations concerned must ask us."

The deadlock had been broken by that remark in a railway car in Canada. At the end of a growingly demonstrative tour Mr. Lloyd George left Washington with a letter from President Coolidge congratulating him on an important work for international peace accomplished while here. The Baldwin government in London had taken up President Coolidge's hint and, though action was held up for months until M. Poincaré could devise a scheme of his own that would save the previous very hard face he had made at the first Hughes proposal, the second real effort to settle the war was under way.

Mr. Lloyd George was welcomed home to England on the very eve of another general election. He was welcomed home amid scenes of enthusiasm equalled only during the war. His prestige was so restored that he was able to force a settlement, a settlement he had long desired, with the Asquithian wing of the

Liberal party. The reconciliation was affected too late to affect substantially the results of the election and as this is written a labor government seems inevitable in Britain. But the forces of liberalism have been united and there is even a chance that they may be further strengthened by accessions from the ranks of the non-Tory conservatives. Whether the latter happens or not Mr. Asquith's advancing age makes it certain that the vital element in the personnel of the liberal party will come from Mr. Lloyd George.

None of the correspondents who, like myself, spent a month with Mr. Lloyd George in his special train have any doubts of the vitality of his personality. A month in a special train will destroy hero worship if any exists. Personally I believe Mr. Lloyd George to possess more quality of charm and to exercise it more skillfully than any other man I know, perhaps than any other man I have read of. Through many irritations and through many disagreements the feeling persists, as it persisted in the other hard-bitten correspondents who made the trip, that the man himself is likeable. He is full of the quality called temperament. He has a nasty temper that animates a bitter tongue when it breaks from control. It breaks frequently over little things. But no observer can see him feel and sway an audience without realizing his beautiful skill and none can see his affection for

his daughter, Megan, without believing that the inner human qualities of the man are sound.

She is a remarkable girl, concentrating in herself and in her feminine way many of her father's qualities of brilliance. She is more than the confidante of his moods. She helps mould some and shares all his important thoughts. He is affectionate towards, but has little in common with the other members of his family. Mrs. Lloyd George, "Maggie," is the ideal squiress of the small country town. She is concerned with her household and the households of those with whom she comes in contact, however wide the contacts be. She is timid in society and always seems a little afraid of the great. But she knows all about babies and flowers and housekeeping and she worships the ground her own great man walks on. Neither of Mr. Lloyd George's surviving sons has given evidence of more than respectable ability and his other daughter, Mrs. Cary Evans is the wife of an Indian Civil Servant and contributes to her father's inner life only a very beautiful little granddaughter who makes him long, intimate and romping visits.

His career is full of instances of men with whom he had much in common but for whom he had little real affection. The single exception would probably be Bonar Law. There was real feeling, not to be accounted for by mere political loss, when he announced

to the House of Commons that his yokemate for seven years had collapsed under the strain. Despite Mr. Law's subsequent part in overthrowing the coalition Mr. Lloyd George has again and again testified to his affection for him. But, as has been said, Bonar Law was the exception. There remains now but Megan, and Megan shares among others her father's quality of ambition. A very good friend of hers told me she hopes for a brilliant marriage—and her idea of a brilliant marriage is one in which her charm can help some fine man whom she loves in a good and important work, preferably in politics.

Mr. Lloyd George lacks Roosevelt's tremendous capacity to convince of his sincerity, but, in many ways, is like him in energy and in methods of using energy to good purpose. He moves so fast from one thing to another that people get only the flashes of the high lights, and by the time they are picking flaws in the shadows he is off making new high lights to dazzle them. His conquest of the fatigues of six thousand miles of travel and seventy-eight speeches in a month furnish American proof of an energy familiar enough to those who know him at home.

He is a tremendous worker, but not of the spade-working type. When he was Prime Minister he was called shortly after 7 in the morning and all of the newspapers that matter—and some people

might be surprised if they knew his list—were put by his bed. He got through all of them in the hour or so over his morning cup of tea. After that he usually took up any official documents that required his personal attention and he was up and shaved and bathed and carefully dressed by his valet shortly after 9. He ate what most people out of England would call a hearty breakfast, of porridge and kipper and bacon and eggs and tea. And then he plunged into the routine of the day. He lunched simply but well—which was the characteristic of all the meals in the Lloyd George household. And when Parliament was in session he was in the House, if not in his seat, by 2:45.

He broke another tradition of Downing Street when he divided the time-honored duties of the Premiership into two by allocating first to Mr. Bonar Law and then to Mr. Austen Chamberlain the routine duties of "Leader of the House." Lloyd George did not sit in the House unless the occasion was particularly important.

The Prime Minister of England is too busy a man to be easy for the ordinary visitor to see and talk to. Yet if Mr. Lloyd George wanted to see a man of any sort or condition, he could make himself approachable to the point of enticement. Aside from the Cabinet and officials it was not unusual for him to

have a score or two of callers a day, most of them in groups and a few singly.

As a matter of fact he loves to chat. One of his favorite diversions is, or was until he became so well known that he attracts a crowd whenever his easily distinguished visage appears in public, to sit on the terrace of an open air restaurant or within a restaurant not consecrated to utter fashion. He confesses he loves to see people.

It is usually well on toward 8:30 before Mr. Lloyd George has an opportunity to think of his evening meal. And then he prefers "high tea" to dinner, an informal little lunch of cold meats or meat pies, and bread and butter and salad and fruit—the sort of thing Americans have on Sunday evening when the cook is out.

He dislikes "society" in the formal sense as does Mrs. Lloyd George. If he can sit about and smoke and chat with a few cronies, men and women, that is what he likes. And he is very fond of the theatre, where he sees everything with a laugh in it. He will not patronize the drama of gloom.

One of his secretaries, Sir Philip Sasson, installed a moving picture plant in his villa at Lympne on the Channel, where Lloyd George spent frequent week ends and where he several times met Premier Briand of France. But Lloyd George is reported no admirer

of the movies. He says frankly he prefers flesh and blood drama. He likes people.

He is usually in bed by 11 and he usually reads himself to sleep with something serious. He is a great reader of Thucydides in the translation, and he has read most of the classics in the same way, though many people still say he is an uncultured man. He is in the sense that he does not read for mere intellectual pleasure or for the mere subjective perfection of his mind. He reads what will be useful in his great game of politics, and no one more than he realizes the high value there of a knowledge of the great minds of all the ages.

Though he lacks the British phlegm, he probably has what is a better conserver of energy, the Celtic facility in that diversion, which is the truest recreation, and the Celtic ability to rebound.

It is thus that the three minutes' walk from Downing Street to St. Stephen's through teeming Whitehall, is more of a relief to him than a trip to Brighton would be for Lord Balfour. A round of golf at Walton Heath—and he is only a twelve handicap player who glories in his duffery, where other members of Parliament treat one stroke off their handicap like a new accession of sanctifying grace through works—a round of golf does him more good than a season at Cannes would do Lord Curzon. A swing

through the home counties in his big car is as much to him as a trip to the heart of Africa would be to Winston Churchill.

Down deep in the man is the elemental function of emotion, and it is the strongest note in his character. Hence it is the note he has seized and bridled and bitted and saddled and ridden to success. It was his vehicle in the old days at Limehouse and it was his vehicle when he swung the British people in two short months from calling the Irish a "murder gang" to backing almost to the last man his efforts to shake hands with De Valera.

He is emotion, Celtic emotion, but bitted, bridled and saddled with cold, Anglo-Saxon precision. Kipling says England before this has been conquered by the foreigner, particularly the Celt, but has absorbed the Celt and all his worth. Perhaps Lloyd George will yet be smothered in an English mediocrity of success.

But whatever the future may hold for him it can never take from him the glory of six years at the helm of the Empire when the Empire has never been more magnificent, in travail and in triumph.

There Lloyd George's career stands at the present moment and there stands the British Empire he has done so much to develop into a true industrial democracy. As Sir Henry Lucy has said he has carried

on the torch of two other great Britons, Chatham and Chamberlain, two men who had no patience with the state of things as they found it. Some tomorrow of history will have to tell whether he helped to further glory a British Empire, greater than Chatham's or Chamberlain's despite its wounds, or whether he signalled its first step on the path of imperial dissolution and decline.

The answer will come when events have measured the skill with which he liberalized the British constitution. He gave the coup de grace to feudalism in England; he made the successors of the feudal lords —the great industrial barons—carry a fairer share of the burden of the state that nourished them; he roused the hewers of wood and the drawers of water to a more proper sense of their own rights, and to a greater sense of their own power; he gave the children of the Empire, the dominions, recognition of their manhood. Whether his relaxation of these bonds has crossed the old, unalterable, sometimes tenuous and nowadays unfashionable line between liberty and license will give the final answer to the career of Lloyd George, to the destiny of the British Empire and to much of the future of this world.

AUTHORITIES

Mr. Stuart wrote a part of this paper in London for the New York Sunday Herald and extracts are here reproduced by its permission. Indefinite references as to time—"the present moment," etc.—means 1924.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

1858-1919

GREAT AMERICAN QUALITIES

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

GREAT AMERICAN QUALITIES

By HERMANN HAGEDORN

THE story of Theodore Roosevelt is the story of a small boy who read about great men and decided that he wanted to be like them. He had vision, he had will, he had persistence, and he succeeded. What the final historical estimate of Theodore Roosevelt will be we do not know. We only know that when he died he was known not only to Americans, but to the people of the four corners of the earth, as one of the world's greatest men. He was not a second Washington. He was not a second Lincoln. He was not a second Andrew Jackson. He was not a second anybody. He was Theodore Roosevelt, himself, unique. There has never been anybody like him in the past, and, though the world wait a long while, there will never be any one like him in the future.

For he had something of the Prophet Ezekiel in him and something of Natty Bumppo, something of Hildebrand the valiant warrior, something of Olaf

the sea-king, something of Cromwell, something of Charlemagne. He belongs to the Heroic Line, and we need not ask what those grand fellows would have thought of him.

For eight years before he died Theodore Roosevelt was beaten in every political campaign he entered. During those years he made "mistakes" that would have killed and buried twelve ordinary public men. He was placed on the shelf as a mummy a half-dozen times, yet, to the end, every word he spoke was "news"; and when he went to a health farm and lost fourteen pounds, the newspapers carried the tidings, column-long, on the front page, because they knew that the least thing that happened to "T. R." was more interesting to the average American citizen than a diplomatic secret or a battle. He was more conspicuous in retirement than most of our Presidents have been under the lime-light of office.

For Theodore Roosevelt was the epitome of the Great Hundred Million; the visible, individual expression of the American people in this first quarter of the twentieth century. He was the typical American. He had the virtues we like to call American, and he had the faults. He had energy, enterprise, chivalry, insatiable eagerness to know things, trust in men, idealism, optimism, fervor; some intolerance; vast common sense; deep tenderness with children;

single-minded fury in battle. He had the gift of quick decision; a belief in cutting through if you couldn't satisfactorily go around; real respect for the other fellow as long as he was straight, and immeasurable contempt for him if he was crooked or a quitter; love of fair play, of hardship, of danger, of a good fight in a good cause. A level-headed winner, a loser who could grin, his glory was not that he was extraordinary, but that he was so complete an expression of the best aspirations of the average American. He was the fulfiller of our good intentions; he was the doer of the heroic things we all want to do and somehow don't quite manage to accomplish.

He knew us and we knew him. He was human, he was our kind, and, being our kind, his successes and his fame were somehow our successes and our fame likewise.

There is something magical about that. You can no more explain it than you can explain Theodore Roosevelt. And you cannot explain him any more than you can explain electricity or falling in love.

You can only tell his story, which we will now proceed to do.*

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*These opening paragraphs are from *The Boy's Life of Theodore Roosevelt* by Hermann Hagedorn. Copyright 1919. Harper & Brothers, Publishers.

I

Theodore Roosevelt, twenty-sixth President of the United States, was born at 28 East 20th Street, New York City, on October 27, 1858. His father, Theodore Roosevelt, was a glass merchant, a figure in city affairs, a philanthropist widely respected and beloved; his mother, Martha Bulloch, was a woman of unusual beauty and charm, of cool good sense and passionate devotions. His father was the descendant of a long line of Dutch burghers who had been prominent in the government of their city for over two hundred years; his mother was a Southerner of Scotch blood, mingled with Irish and Huguenot-French and an infusion of German from the Rhine Palatinate. Both were aristocrats by lineage and the higher right of spiritual nobility. The Civil War, breaking upon them when Theodore the Younger was two and a half years old, turned the sympathy of one to the North; that of the other, with equal ardor, to the South; but it did not cloud the affection they held for each other or the happiness of their home.

Theodore the Younger was, from his birth, a frail boy, who suffered much from asthma and other bodily ailments. For weeks on end he was forced to keep to his bed, and the rough-and-tumble of boyhood was during his early years altogether withheld from him.

He learned to read while he was still in skirts, and before he was out of the nursery age books had become companions to him and comforters in pain. His sisters, his brother and their friends were his devoted followers, who found the stories he told them, hour after hour, altogether thrilling.

He went to school for a brief period at Professor McMullen's Academy, near Madison Square, but his health permitted him no regular schooling, and tutors and governesses gave him an uneven elementary education, which he extended and deepened by wide reading of heroic tales and natural history, of science and biography. When he was nine he was taken through Europe, but, to judge from the journal he kept, gained nothing from it except a small boy's spread-eagle homesickness for his own land. Rome, Paris, Vesuvius and the Trossachs were alike a bore to him. Another trip to Europe four years later opened his eyes. He had by that time become an ardent naturalist, and Egypt and the Continent were interesting for their birds, if not for their monuments. He spent a winter in a German family in Dresden and returned to America with an understanding of foreign lands which served to give him a real appreciation of his own. Still handicapped by his physical frailness, he prepared himself for college.

Meanwhile, he had acquired certain ideals of life

and conduct which exercised a deep influence on his character. He was a notable hero-worshipper, with his father as his greatest hero then as always, and behind him the company of the heroic dead, who had become familiar to him through books. He measured himself by them, found himself wanting both in courage and physical strength, and doggedly set to work to repair the defects. He took boxing lessons, and exercised with a persistence that did not abate, in the gymnasium his father installed for him. The world of outdoors was a source of delight and adventure. His boy's love for birds and insects developed into the scientist's ardor for solid knowledge. When he went to college in the autumn of 1876, it was with the determination to become a faunal naturalist.

His years at Harvard were years of growth and joyous companionship. He studied hard, he read widely and deeply, he plunged into a dozen different undergraduate activities, from boxing and fencing and football to acting and writing and Sunday-school teaching and discussion of art at Professor Charles Eliot Norton's. He romped one day, he wrote history the next; he made many friends; he gained a few devoted followers who prophesied great things for him; meanwhile, he grew in body and mind.

He graduated in June, 1880. Shortly after, he married Alice Lee of Chestnut Hill, who had been

the radiant center of the group of boys and girls with whom he had "run" during his Harvard years. They went to Europe, where Theodore Roosevelt climbed the Matterhorn for no particular reason except that a pair of Englishmen with whom he had talked seemed to think that they were the only ones who had ever climbed it or ever would; and returned to America, more ardently American than ever, and settled in New York.

He had long given up his intention of becoming a naturalist, without, however, being able to decide what he would become. With no great enthusiasm for the law, he entered the Columbia Law School and, at the same time, the law office of his uncle, Robert Roosevelt. Meanwhile he completed a history of "The Naval War of 1812" which he had begun in college, looked about in the political world of his native city, and joined the Republican Club of the Twenty-first Assembly District.

He became a factor, if not a power, there at once, and on the initiative of a shrewd, keen-witted Irishman named "Joe" Murray, a local "boss," was nominated for the Assembly within a year, and elected.

In Albany he sprang almost at once into leadership. Before his first term was over he was a national figure, at the end of his third he was a force to be reckoned with in the Republican Party, head of his State dele-

gation to the National Convention, the hero of young men, the hope of all who were working for the triumph of the better elements in American politics. He gained his first fame through a fearless attack on a corrupt judge whom the leaders of his own party were seeking to shelter; but the real confidence of the public he won by solid and persistent work against odds for honest government and progressive legislation.

A personal catastrophe cut off completely and, it seemed forever, his political career. In February, 1884, his mother died suddenly. The same night his daughter Alice was born, and twelve hours later his wife died. He finished his term in the Assembly, did what he could to nominate the man of his choice at the Republican Convention in Chicago, failed, and hid himself, disheartened, on the ranch he had purchased the preceding autumn on the banks of the Little Missouri River, in Dakota.

II

For the two years or more that followed, the gay world of New York City, and that other complex and tumultuous world of politics through which he had passed like a cyclone, saw Theodore Roosevelt only for hurried glimpses, if at all. He had altogether resigned whatever political ambitions he might have had. He wanted to write; and he did write an enter-

taining book of hunter's tales, a fresh and authoritative biography of Thomas H. Benton, another of Gouverneur Morris, a volume concerning ranch-life; but these were incidental. He had bought a great herd of cattle, he had associated himself with a quintette of gay-hearted cowboys, two from Maine, three from New Brunswick, and with them had established two ranches, one called the Chimney Butte, the other Elkhorn; and he was now a ranchman whose life was bounded by the circle of cares and wholesome hardships and pleasures and perils that make up a ranchman's days. The bleak and savage country and the primitive conditions of life fascinated his imagination; the hardy men who were his companions gripped his affections and held them. The "women-folk" in Maine joined their husbands and took charge of Elkhorn, and for two years made a home where the days passed in a round of manly endeavor and simple-hearted fellowship that in the memory of all who were a part of it lingered as a kind of pastoral idyll.

His natural quality of leadership asserted itself instantly, and he had not been in the Bad Lands six months before he had become the leader of the forces of order. It happened that the leader of the forces of violence was a French nobleman named the Marquis de Mores. They had more than one abrupt encounter, and on one occasion the Marquis challenged Roosevelt

to a duel. But the duel was never fought. When Roosevelt named the conditions the Marquis withdrew.

Working on the round-up, riding for days on end after stray cattle, hunting over the bare prairies and up the jagged peaks, Theodore Roosevelt won at last the strength of body he had set out to gain fifteen years before. He won much else—an understanding of the common man and of the West, a deeper appreciation of the meaning of democracy, a revived interest in life. His career as a ranchman came to an end in the autumn of 1886, when he went East to accept the Republican nomination for Mayor of New York.

He ran against Abram S. Hewitt, the Tammany nominee, and Henry George, the candidate of a short-lived United Labor Party, and was disastrously defeated in spite of a lively campaign. He went to Europe, and in London married the friend of his childhood, Edith Kermit Carow.

He returned with his wife to America the following Spring and moved into the new house on Sagamore Hill which he had set about to build before his departure. There he gave himself to the writing of books, notably "The Winning of the West," a history of the frontier, which was to be his greatest work. A Republican victory in 1888, however, brought him again into public affairs. He was appointed a member

of the U. S. Civil Service Commission in Washington, and for six years thereafter fought the battle of civil service reform against the corrupt or foolish advocates of favoritism who still affirmed that "to the victor belong the spoils." It was a perilous position for a public man with political ambitions, for the work of the Civil Service Commission was unpopular with the leaders of both parties and to administer it ably meant to antagonize the most powerful forces in Congress. Roosevelt carried the fight into the very Cabinet of the Republican President, and even while he drew the fire of the spoilsmen won the quick applause of men near and far who admired courage and skill in combat.

A reform victory in New York City in the autumn of 1894 brought him, six months later, again to the city of his birth as President of the Police Board. The police department of the city was demoralized, favoritism and corruption were rampant, laws were unequally enforced, and vice and crime flourished openly to the scandal of respectable citizens, who were helpless it seemed to cope with the forces of disorder. Into these Augean stables Theodore Roosevelt courageously turned the flood of his turbulent energy and cleansing love of justice. He abolished at once the system of admission and promotion by pay or influence; he stood by his men when influential

wrongdoers attempted to discredit them for doing their duty. Within six months he had put new spirit into the force and brought the law once more into repute. But in so doing he had stirred the anger of the politicians of both parties and of all the sinister forces which depended for their livelihood on vice and crime. His motives were misrepresented, his methods were ridiculed, until even the orderly elements, whose battle he was fighting, turned upon him. The newspapers attacked him savagely; even his colleagues on the Police Board thwarted him where they could.

"It is a grimy struggle, but a vital one," he wrote at the time in a letter to one of his sisters. "The battle for decent government must be won by just such interminable, grimy drudgery."

III

Into the tumult of his work on the Police Board came the rumors of impending war. Theodore Roosevelt believed with all his heart that Cuba should be freed from the intolerable yoke of Spain. He believed that only through the intervention of the United States could Cuba be thus freed. He had, ever since leaving college, preached national preparedness for war, demanding in particular the creation of an effective navy. When William McKinley, therefore, was elected Presi-

dent in the autumn of 1896, and offered Roosevelt the position of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he accepted it with frank delight. He became in the Navy Department what he had been on the Civil Service Commission and the Police Board, the moving spirit of the organization. His superior, Secretary Long, was by inclination a pacifist who looked with distrust and some terror on Roosevelt's efforts to make the navy into a vigorous fighting force. Roosevelt utilized the brief periods when he was Acting Secretary during his chief's absence to carry forward the policy which he deemed essential to the national safety. It was by such almost surreptitious action that Dewey was provided with the coal and ships which ultimately enabled him to destroy the Spanish fleet at Manila. When the war came in April, 1898, he immediately resigned his position and offered his services to the President in raising the cavalry regiments which Congress authorized. General Alger, Secretary of War, offered him the colonelcy of one of these regiments. He refused, asking that the regiment be given to his friend Leonard Wood, a veteran of the Indian wars and at that time a surgeon in the army, with himself as lieutenant-colonel. The offer was accepted. Early in May the Rough Riders, as they were nicknamed, began to gather from all parts of the country, at San Antonio, Texas. The training was brief but

thorough. Six weeks after the regiment was organized, it stood trained and equipped on the firing line outside of Santiago de Cuba.

The Rough Riders came under fire for the first time late in June, at Las Guasimas, where Roosevelt commanded first the center and later also the left wing. He revealed himself there as a brave soldier and an officer of calm judgment and qualities of leadership altogether unusual.

The battle of San Juan Hill was fought a week after the engagement at Las Guasimas. It was a small but most sanguinary battle in which, owing to the inefficiency and blundering of the commanding general, the American casualties were altogether out of proportion to the numbers engaged. The day before the battle Colonel Wood had been promoted to Brigadier General and Roosevelt had been given command of the regiment. All day, waiting for orders that did not come, he lay with his men under the galling fire of Spanish guns. One messenger after another whom he sent for orders was killed. At last, late in the afternoon, the command came to advance. He dashed forward, conspicuous on his white horse, plunged through the line of regulars who were obstructing his path, and led his men through the tall grass up the long hill. To right and to left of him men fell, and the Mauser bullets sang with the sound of ripping

silk past his ears. He remained untouched. At a barbed wire fence he sprang off his horse and plunged on, his men close at his heels. He gained the first crest, pushing the Spaniards back; then another, and a third. Inspired by his cool courage the American line advanced along the whole San Juan range. At dusk the Spaniards were in full retreat on the city.

Roosevelt returned home a popular hero. The Republicans of New York State, facing defeat, recognized that in Roosevelt lay their only hope. He was nominated for Governor that autumn, and after a hot and close campaign was elected.

At Albany Roosevelt revealed himself almost at once as an able executive, a clear-sighted judge of men and a politician of tact, skill and unswerving integrity. His own party machine was distrustful of him as a reformer who had said many hard things about party machines in the past and who had handled neither the Democratic nor the Republican organization with gloves during his battles as Police Commissioner. Roosevelt recognized that though the Republican machine under its leader, Senator Platt, might not be the ideal instrument through which he would choose to work if he could make a choice, it was a force with which he must deal if he wished to put on the statute books any progressive legislation at all. The machine dominated the Legislature and

had the power completely to block the Governor if it so desired. Roosevelt, realizing that the Republican organization, however imperfect in itself, might be made the instrument of good if rightly handled, managed by tact and cajolery and sundry breakfasts with Senator Platt whenever affairs became stormy, to gain the support of the Assembly and Senate for appointments and legislative measures which the Republican members of that body would never have dreamed of passing if Roosevelt had endeavored to swing the "big stick." More than once the issues were sharply drawn and there was a clash that threatened to disrupt the Republican Party. But in every case Roosevelt's willingness to make concessions on inessentials and his evident determination to stand firm as a rock on principles, averted what seemed inevitable disaster.

Roosevelt had meanwhile become the acknowledged leader of the progressive elements in American politics. His second annual message as Governor, delivered in January, 1900, strikingly revealed his imaginative grasp of the problems confronting the nation. A movement to make him candidate for Vice-President on the Republican ticket was started simultaneously among his political enemies in the East, who wished to shelve him, and his devoted followers in the West who sought his promotion, and gained swift headway even against his most frantic protests. He looked

upon the tranquil ineffectiveness of the Vice-President's office with undisguised horror. In the Convention in June his wishes were overruled and he was forced to accept the nomination. Having accepted, he put the full force of his energy and enthusiasm into the campaign that followed, touring the country from end to end. The Republican ticket was triumphantly elected and Roosevelt settled down in Washington, with what grace he could command, to four years of dull inaction which he prophesied would leave him at their conclusion, at best, a professor of history in a second-rate college until the end of his days.

IV

An assassin's bullet, removing his chief from the field of action with sudden and terrible swiftness, brought Roosevelt unexpectedly into the very forefront of affairs. Six months after the second inauguration of President McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt became President of the United States. He retained the Cabinet of his predecessor and pledged himself to carry out his predecessor's policies. But it was inevitable that his strong personality should immediately impress itself on the whole administration. Friends and opponents alike recognized that a great new dynamic force was in control. His grasp of

public questions, his wide range of interests, his understanding and love for all manner of men, his tireless energy, made him at once the center of public attention and the most widely popular of American executives since Andrew Jackson. He was a forceful and persuasive speaker, and again and again, when Congress blocked his measures, won the support of the people by direct appeals.

His countrymen came to love him for his vigor, his humor, his courage, his large-hearted humanity, his clean and wholesome family life. He crossed and criss-crossed the continent, meeting the American people face to face and laying his cause before them for their judgment. He had the gift of making men of all sections feel that he was peculiarly an expression of their own dreams and aspirations. He was, in fact, at home in every part of the land, and through his Northern birth, his Southern ancestry, his residence in the West and his deep understanding of the Western point of view, was peculiarly a son of the whole country.

His conduct of domestic as well as foreign affairs was fearless and vigorous. He saw clearly that the question of most vital importance before the country was the control and strict regulation of the great corporations. In the famous Northern Securities' merger he presented a test case to the Supreme Court which

ultimately opened the way for the prosecution of the other great corporations which had violated the Sherman Anti-trust Law. His fight against the conservative forces of both parties on this question, and kindred matters of railroad regulation, was intensely bitter and extended throughout his period of office.

His dealings with labor were equally far-sighted and firm. He favored combinations of labor as he favored combinations of capital, but stood as firmly against lawlessness on the part of laboring men as he stood against it on the part of capitalists.

"At last," said one of the "labor men" at luncheon one day, "there is a hearing for us fellows."

"Yes," cried the President emphatically. "The White House door, while I am here, shall swing open as easily for the labor man as for the capitalist, *and no easier.*"

He was able to settle the anthracite coal strike in October, 1902, because he understood the points of view of both sides and was known by both as a just man of solid convictions whom threats could not swerve from his determined course.

His attitude in foreign affairs, as in domestic, was frank, clear-cut and firm, being based on the same principles which governed his personal relations with his fellowmen. He treated nations when they were bullies in the same direct manner he had used with

certain "bad men" in Dakota. His vigorous handling of Germany, late in 1902, met a covert challenge of the Monroe Doctrine in a manner that left nothing to the Kaiser's imagination. His hint to England on the Alaska boundary question—"Arbitrate if you want to, but there is the map"—was equally unambiguous and fruitful of international good-will. He settled the century-old Panama question by swift and decisive action on the instant when such action was needed, and was digging the Canal before his opponents in Congress had recovered from their horror at his temerity. His reputation for integrity and candor, combined with an instant readiness to act, solved more than one knotty international problem before it reached a crisis, and gave him power, when the governments of Europe found themselves impotent and afraid to intervene in the Russo-Japanese conflict, to thrust his vigorous personality between the contestants and by a liberal "knocking of heads right and left," literally to force a settlement. He defied alike the experts who shouted that it was impossible to send a fleet of battleships around the world, and the pacifists who wailed that to do so meant war. He sent the fleet and the fleet returned without mishap and bearing the good will of all nations. It was a striking diplomatic triumph. Roosevelt himself regarded it as his greatest contribution to world peace.

He found the government of the United States, when he took up the reins, in the position among world powers, of a new boy in school; he left it firmly established in the first rank, admired and feared, its favor eagerly sought after, its citizenship respected in the remotest corners of the globe. In domestic affairs his impress was no less remarkable. At a critical moment in the conflict between capital and labor he was able to exercise the mediating influence which averted the deep bitterness which that conflict had engendered in other nations, and to guide both parties away from the extremes whose final meeting place is revolution. He fought the battle of democracy against impending plutocracy; he looked for the causes of social unrest and labored to remove them; he insisted that the rights of the public to the natural resources of the country outweighed private rights, and fought men of all parties until his word prevailed and found expression in the conservation movement; above all, he kindled men and women, and especially young men, to an ardor for public service such as men had not known before in times of peace. He trumpeted the call of national and civic duty, and the conscience of the country awoke and responded.

V

Theodore Roosevelt left the Presidency in March, 1909, and a month later sailed for East Africa. There for a year he hunted big game—lion and elephant, rhinoceros, giraffe, ostrich and hippopotamus, meeting strange peoples and perilous adventures. He emerged from the jungle at Khartoum in April, 1910, to be greeted by a cheer of welcome that echoed around the world. His journey down the Nile and through Europe was a triumphal progress extraordinary in its evidence of admiration and wonder. He made formal addresses before half a dozen learned bodies, stirring up a hornet's nest in Cairo by his denunciation of a recent political assassination, another in Rome by refusing to allow his freedom of action to be circumscribed by the papal authorities, a third in London by criticizing England's government of Egypt. At Christiania he received the Nobel Prize, awarded to him the year previous for his efforts in bringing about the Peace of Portsmouth; in Berlin he reviewed, at the Kaiser's side, the crack troops of the Empire. Altogether, it was a memorable journey.

He returned to the United States to find the Party, which he had left united and vigorous after its recent victory, disrupted by bitter factional strife, and slipping rapidly toward disaster. In the struggle be-

tween the progressive and the reactionary elements he could not stand to one side in dignified neutrality. He espoused the progressive cause and in the campaign of 1910 fought with all the energy that was in him for the overthrow of boss-rule in New York State. He was decisively beaten after a contest that was bitter in the extreme. His enemies shouted that he was politically dead. He withdrew to Sagamore Hill and his editorial work on the staff of the *Outlook*, and, for the moment, let his foes rejoice.

Defeat in no wise embittered him. "I have never been happier than for the last four months," he wrote to a friend in March, 1911. "I have revelled in staying quietly in my own home, with those for whom I care most in the world, and with my own books, and the things with which I have associations."

But the struggle into which he had thrown, with such seeming recklessness, the stake of his great reputation, had been scarcely checked by the mid-term defeat. He was urged to be a candidate for President on the Republican ticket against President Taft, who was backed by the party machine and the so-called "stand-patters". He did not want to make the race, and it was against his own best judgment that he was persuaded at last to enter the contest. Once in, however, he fought with his whole being. One state after another, in the primary campaign, pledged its

delegates to him. But the party machine was in the hands of his enemies, and in the convention, held in Chicago in June, they used it relentlessly to effect his defeat. The progressives, refusing to vote, marched out of the convention hall, leaving a disgruntled majority to carry through the program of the conservative leaders. A new Progressive Party sprang into being overnight and in August, amid scenes of the wildest enthusiasm, mingled with a devotion to a high cause absent hitherto from political conventions, nominated Theodore Roosevelt for President.

The ensuing campaign was fierce and rancorous. At the height of it Roosevelt was shot by a fanatic in Milwaukee as he was entering an automobile on his way to a mass-meeting he was about to address. He insisted on making his speech, went to the hospital, and after two weeks was again on his feet, campaigning. In the three-cornered election in November he polled over four million votes, but was defeated by Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic candidate. Once more his enemies rejoiced and said that he was "done for." He took his defeat with the same good grace and humor with which he had taken victory in the past, returned to his editorial work, wrote his Autobiography, and accepted the popular verdict that he was out of politics.

In the autumn of 1913 he went to South America to address numerous learned bodies there and to make an exploring expedition into the jungles of Brazil, to which he had long looked forward. His journey from capital to capital in South America was a repetition of his triumphal progress through Europe. His plunge into the Brazilian wilderness, on the other hand, was infinitely more hazardous than the African trip. For months he and his expedition were completely out of touch with the outside world. He discovered a hitherto unknown river, vaguely indicated on existing maps as the River of Doubt, and at imminent risk of disaster explored the nine hundred miles of its course. The trip was indescribably arduous and full of peril; his life was constantly in danger in the treacherous rapids and along the fever-infested banks; savage Indians shot their poisonous arrows unseen out of the dark tangle. One after another his canoes were crushed in the rapids; one after another his men sickened. Finally he himself was laid low with fever, and for forty-eight hours was deadly ill. He pleaded with his son Kermit, who was with him, and with the other members of his party to leave him behind and push on, in order that the whole expedition might not suffer the catastrophe which was always imminent of death by starvation. His companions refused to leave him. By a great effort

of will he raised himself from his sick-bed and plunged on with them from rapids to rapids, until at last, when disaster seemed inevitable, a post on the river bank with the carved initials of some rubber trader indicated that they were on the outskirts of civilization once more. For weeks thereafter Roosevelt lay tossing with fever on the bottom of the canoe as they drifted down the placid reaches of the river. The Brazilian government, in honor of his exploit, christened the river he had found the Rio Teodoro.

VI

He returned to his own country in May, 1914. Three months later the World War broke out. Roosevelt saw at once that America could not remain untouched by it. He pleaded for preparedness; he pleaded for an international tribunal backed by force to execute its decrees. His pleas were met with a tumult of abuse. He did not let it swerve him from his course. When the *Lusitania* was sunk, he pleaded for instant action—not a declaration of war, but a trade embargo against Germany and open ports for the ships of the Allies. At the outbreak of the brief and inglorious war with Mexico he offered to raise a division of troops. His offer was refused. Meanwhile his demand for national preparedness began to stir the country to a sense of the gravity of its position.

Domestic issues faded into the background; the questions which had split the Republican party in 1912 were superseded by other questions at the moment more vital which served to reunite the opposing groups. In the national convention of the Progressive party he was nominated for President; in the Republican party the feeling was widespread that he should be the Republican candidate also. Justice Hughes was named. Roosevelt forthwith refused the Progressive nomination and gave his support to the Republican candidate.

War with Germany came as he had prophesied it must inevitably come if the United States were to keep a shred of self-respect.

"We wanted peace, and rightfully," said Calvin Coolidge speaking of him in after years, "but it was the voice of Roosevelt that roused the nation to the meaning and the menace of the war to America. In this he was never so disinterested, so patriotic, so eager for the right for its own sake. He appealed from the things that seemed to be to the soul of the things that are.

"This was his last great service. He roused the national conscience into righteous action. He spoke to the soul of his country and he saw her response. He saw her rise triumphant again above every sordid motive, resurgent to the everlasting realities. He saw

his fellow countrymen make their sacrifices, and he made his."

He offered again to raise a division of troops. Men from all over the country volunteered their services until 250,000 men had recorded their desire to go under his leadership to France. Congress passed a bill authorizing the creation of two divisions of volunteers. The President refused his consent. Roosevelt, forbidden to fight in the field, grimly and in bitter disappointment, accepted the decision and flung himself whole-heartedly into the work that lay at hand. During the months that followed no good cause called to him in vain. Here and there over the country he spoke for the Liberty Loan Campaigns, for the Red Cross and other relief agencies; and in the pages of the *Kansas City Star* and the *Metropolitan Magazine* fought week after week for speed in military preparation, for an honest facing of facts, for wholehearted and unreserved participation in the war by the side of the Allies. He was well represented at the battle front. His son Archibald was wounded; Theodore was gassed and later wounded; Kermit fought valiantly, first in Mesopotamia, then in France; Quentin fell fighting in the air, high over the German lines. "Haven't I bully boys?" he exclaimed to a friend who approached him with words of condolence. "One dead and two in the hospital!"

The fever he had contracted in Brazil returned now and again. For weeks he traveled and made public addresses in spite of it. In February, 1918, however, he became dangerously ill; was operated upon; recovered; returned to his full activity and was again laid low. His illness scarcely abated his ceaseless activity and in no wise weakened the terrifying force of his fighting spirit. In the autumn he was again forced to take to the hospital. He returned to Sagamore Hill in time to spend Christmas with his family. The inflammatory rheumatism which had caused him much pain began to give way. He seemed on the road to recovery. He made plans for a hunt after devil-fish in the spring.

From his sick-bed he fought his battle for realism and candor and directed the policy of the Republican Party, of which he was once more the recognized and undisputed leader. At midnight on January 5th he wrote a memorandum for the Chairman of the Republican National Committee. Four hours later, quietly in his sleep, with no other word, the man of many battles and much tumult slipped out of the company of living men.

He was buried on a hillside in Oyster Bay; but with new potency his spirit cried to the hearts of his countrymen.

He was found faithful over a few things and he was made ruler over many; he cut his own trail clean and straight and millions followed him toward the light.

He was frail; he made himself a tower of strength. He was timid; he made himself a lion of courage. He was a dreamer; he became one of the great doers of all time.

Men put their trust in him; women found a champion in him; kings stood in awe of him, but children made him their playmate.

He broke a nation's slumber with his cry, and it rose up. He touched the eyes of blind men with a flame, and gave them vision. Souls became swords through him; swords became servants of God.

He was loyal to his country and he exacted loyalty; he loved many lands, but he loved his own land best.

He was terrible in battle, but tender to the weak; joyous and tireless, being free from self-pity; clean with a cleanness that cleansed the air like a gale.

His courtesy knew no wealth, no class; his friendship no creed or color or race. His courage stood every onslaught of savage beast and ruthless man, of loneliness, of victory, of defeat.

His mind was eager, his heart was true, his body and spirit, defiant of obstacles, ready to meet what might come. He fought injustice and tyranny; bore sorrow gallantly; loved all nature, bleak spaces and

hardy companions, hazardous adventure and the zest of battle. Wherever he went he carried his own pack; and in the uttermost parts of the earth he kept his conscience for his guide.

FERDINAND FOCH

1851–

MILITARY ART

FERDINAND FOCH

MILITARY ART

By LINGARD LOUD

"THEY can never unite against me," said the Kaiser in 1917. "Therefore I shall defeat them. They are divided by jealousies and mutual distrust; they can never agree upon a single leader, and therefore I shall triumph over them."

Nevertheless only a year later a leader had emerged from the "fog of war" and in the hour of greatest peril the jealousies and mutual distrust were burnt out of men's souls and the Allied cause was committed into the strong hands of Ferdinand Foch. This was no sudden emergence of an unknown soldier from obscurity, but the final culmination of a slow, steady process of selection. It was an example of the survival of the fittest. Foch was simply the "fittest" of the Allied generals, and by the workings of that biologic law he was "selected," and through him the Allied cause "survived."

When one traces out the little known, unsensational development of this extraordinary military genius,

one is led to believe in a Providence, a destiny, either human or divine, which provided the twists and turns, ups and downs, rebuffs and rebounds, which gradually, step by step equipped this devout Christian for his great role as Savior of Civilization. Each stage of his long career carried him closer to the climactic period of 1918.

Whether the story of his life be that of a strategist or whether it be regarded with reverence in the face of the mysterious power which shaped his course in such fashion as to produce *the* leader in the hour of supreme need,—however we approach his life, it illustrates the manner in which instruments are formed by unseen forces to preserve mankind against tyranny.

Whether you believe that God, in His Infinite wisdom fashions such instruments; or whether you believe that the mass of men, blundering blindly through darkness in quest of adequate leadership, know by intuition when they have found a rescuing genius, or whether you believe that Ferdinand Foch, the general who happened to be entrusted with power, chanced to hit upon the correct expedients and strategic moves for the campaign which culminated in Armistice Day 1918,—in the study of his career you are struck at once by the uncanny directness with which he moved from boyhood year after year straight toward the work

he was to do, and the great office of Generalissimo of the Allied Armies.

The sanity of the man, the simplicity of his life, is epic in quality. Fate, destiny, chance—what you will—dowered him with certain slow-maturing gifts and rehearsed him in his rule until, when the final curtain rose, he advanced to the center of the world's stage, knowing not simply every syllable of his part, but knowing nothing *but* his part, incapable by character, by training, by every action and reaction, every motive and motion of his mind, of doing anything save the right and necessary thing. Life had somehow built him to function just so and not otherwise. Deeply religious as he is, he surely sensed the guidance of the overshadowing Power, and confidently, yet humbly, knew himself the appropriate instrument.

In Paris and the north of France, and throughout the Anglo-Saxon world, the name of Ferdinand Foch is usually pronounced "Fosh." Widespread usage has lent a correctness to this pronunciation, but it is a correctness not native to the name.

It is a south-of-France name. Among the Basques of Southern France and northern Spain, "Foch" means "fire." In the South of France the name of the Generalissimo rhymes with the German word for "hurrah," namely, "Hoch." The dialect of Gascony

makes Foch sound like a German name, but the famil is an ancient French family.

General Joffre likewise hails from the south o France. Another splendid soldier, de Castelnau, firs saw the light in that lovely region. And the greate of them all, Ferdinand Foch, was born in the hous his grandfather built in 1780 in the little village o Valentine near the small city of St. Gaudens, amon the wooded foothills of the snowy Pyrenees, a hous which had been the family home for generations.

Grandfather Foch had made money selling woo and when he retired in modest prosperity, he had n title and insufficient wealth to tempt the wrath of th *sans-culottes* who, during the French revolutio guillotined most of the French nobility, and confiscate the property of the rich. Grandfather Foch cam through those troublous days unscathed, and speedil consecrated his future to the new order of thing When Napoleon I emerged, and marched in triump over Europe, he shared the general enthusiasm, an named the son who was born to him in those days o glory, Napoleon.

Napoleon Foch grew up quietly, entered the Frenc civil service which the Emperor Napoleon had re organized, and presently married Sophie Dupr daughter of Grandfather Foch's old friend, Colon Dupré, who had distinguished himself in the Spanis wars.

In 1851 Napoleon Foch and his young wife were stationed at Tarbes in the department, or county of France called Hautes Pyrenees. He was secretary to the prefecture, or county council, of the department. By this time the young couple had two children. The eldest, a daughter, had been left behind with the grandparents at Valentine. There had also been a son, Gabriel, who later became a lawyer, living on to our own days in the little village of Tarbes.

On October 2, 1851, the second son was born, and christened Ferdinand. He was the last but one of their children. In 1854 the third son, was born. Germain, last of their children, was destined to adopt a religious calling. In 1872 he entered upon his novitiate as a Jesuit, and has served faithfully, if inconspicuously, in that order ever since. This fact was destined to have a considerable influence upon the career of his soldierly brother, Ferdinand. The fact that the family was devoutly Roman Catholic, and included a Jesuit Father, probably retarded Ferdinand's advancement to high rank by many years, during a period when an old quarrel between France and the Church was slowly being thrashed out and settled.

In December 1851, a few weeks after the birth of Ferdinand Foch, the Napoleonic Empire was suddenly revived by a *coup d' état*, and Emperor Napoleon III mounted the throne. The people acquiesced willingly

enough in this proceeding, confident that the new Napoleon would restore order and discipline to a much troubled nation. With his ancestry and Christian name it is easy to see how Napoleon Foch might have welcomed the new government. Yet he seems never to have traded upon his instant support of the restored dynasty. He sought no special favors, contenting himself with doing his duty as he found it, and progressing slowly from one post of confidence to another without ever attaining the inner circle of administrative officialdom.

His movements from place to place about France led to his boys being educated in many schools. These shifts and changes forced the boys to study with exceptional assiduity, and perforce broadened their outlook. One school demanded one sort of perfection, another rather a different sort. They must approach perfection in all fashions as closely as possible. At home their parents helped them with their lessons, and coached them for examinations. Theirs was no easy, lazy, idle youth.

When holidays came they spent glorious weeks in Grandfather Foch's country house in Valentine whence they could climb the bluff of the Bout du Puig and enjoy the tremendous panorama of valleys and ice-capped mountains spread all round them.

We have no record of Ferdinand's plans for himself

at this time. He had done his best school work in mathematics, and he was forever reading, reading, reading. Not blood-and-thunder yarns about impossible heroes and villains, but military history! It is said that by the time he was twelve he had read and re-read the many volumes of *Thiers' History of the Consulate and the Empire.* It was a dull book, and only an earnest student would have waded through it. But it was a patriotic book, and love of country was a deepening passion with this boy.

The first Napoleon, the great national hero, was its central figure, and perhaps his battles and the thunder of his charging cavalry started the boy to dreaming of battles in which, some day, he too might take part, armies he too might command. But his most extravagant dreams could scarcely have hinted at the magnitude of the forces which he would later have at his disposal, forces which by comparison dwarfed Napoleon's armies into significance.

By the time he was sixteen or seventeen he had finished his "classical" education, and was ready to devote his further studies to preparing himself for a profession. He chose the army, and his choice probably came as no surprise to his parents. Since his cleverness at mathematics seemed to point him toward the artillery arm of the service they decided to send him to the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris as soon as he

could be prepared to pass its stiff entrance examinations.

In those days the Jesuit College at Metz, the school of St. Clement, up near the German frontier, was regarded as one of the best in France for preparing candidates for the great military academy of Paris. Ferdinand Foch left his family for the first time, and took up his residence in Metz. It was a fascinating place to be just at that time. From 1866 on France and Germany had been making faces at one another across their boundaries, and France was sure she could whip the German "militia" and build a new frontier at the Rhine. War, everybody said, was inevitable. The Germans were getting too impertinent, and must be taught a lesson. Anyway France had always wanted the Rhine frontier. So Foch and his schoolmates felt certain of seeing active service and winning their commissions in the very near future, and eagerly watched the new forts being built in every direction around Metz.

When Ferdinand went home in the summer of 1870 to join his family at St. Etienne, he took with him the college prize for good conduct. This prize was not handed down by his professors, Father Lacouture and Father Saussier and the others, but awarded after a vote by his fellows. The college was due to reopen in August, but on July 19th mighty events intervened.

France declared war, and Prussia began that merciless, machine-like invasion which left Europe gasping with astonishment and alarm at what Prussia might some day do to the peace of the world. It was a foolish war into which Bismarck had tricked a sick and worn-out Emperor of France by changing the wording of a telegram. It proved a bitterly humiliating war for France, and made an ineffaceable impression on the minds of Ferdinand's generation. One and all they were vowed to vengeance. But Ferdinand, in addition, vowed to *understand* France's defeat, and figure out how it could have been prevented,—how *he* could prevent it if a like defeat was ever again threatened.

He did not see active service during the war. Sent after some weeks of training to join the 4th Regiment of Infantry he was near enough to hear the cannon which ended the war in defeat near Belfort, but garrison duty was all his regiment had to do. At length, in January 1871, a peace having been patched up, his battalion was disbanded and after four months intensive drill as an infantry private, training which must have been invaluable later on when as an officer he must try to understand his men, he returned to the college of St. Clement at Metz.

Over the fortresses of Metz the red and black flag of Imperial Germany now floated. Part of the college had been taken for barracks for the German garrison.

Amid his country's conquerors Ferdinand Foch prepared to become a French officer.

His examination for admittance to the Polytechnique was taken in Nancy, another city held hostage by the arrogant German invader. With what bitter resolution these young Frenchmen must have tackled that examination. Foch was among the successful candidates, but little did he suppose that in the *next* war with Germany he would be the general in command of Nancy, and would fight his first battle not far away.

He had never been a large boy for his age, but he had made the most of his physique. Wiry, lean and strong, he had not sacrificed exercise to study, but had contrived to do both, realizing that a sound body is the stable groundwork for a sound mind. It must often have been difficult, for so studious a youngster, to force himself to play games and take part in sports, but he was wise beyond his years, and recognized the necessity for trained muscles to back up the trained mind. To this early realization he owed his capacity, as an elderly man, in 1918, for keeping his boots on, and his mind alert four or five days and nights without rest or sleep while he raced from point to point along the hundred mile battle-front where the World War was fought to a finish, heartening his commanders, and hurling in reinforcements where they were most needed.

During the Franco-Prussian war Paris had been besieged, and the Ecole Polytechnique had been shelled. When Foch arrived in November 1871 there were still bullet holes in the walls and the roofs had been newly patched. It was at the Polytechnique that Ferdinand first met a compatriot from the south of France, who was later to play a great part in the World War. This was Joffre, later Chief of the General Staff and Commander-in-Chief of the French Armies in the Field.

In their second year at the school Joffre and Foch both passed an examination which abbreviated their course, in order that they might help fill the officer gaps in the newly reorganized French army. Joffre went into the engineers and Foch into the artillery.

With a light heart Foch left Paris. He had never liked it. Its gaiety was not for him. His life was dedicated to a serious purpose, and he had neither time nor inclination for the distractions of the "capital of Europe." Out in the beautiful forest of Fontainebleau where he became a cadet in the artillery school he was at peace with himself and the world. He had been an accomplished horseman from childhood, and here he could ride for hours through the most beautiful countryside. In the examinations at the end of this course he stood third. When he had been commissioned a second-lieutenant he was permitted to

pick his station, and chose his birthplace—Tarbes down near the Pyrenees, close to the home of his grandparents.

He remained two years at Tarbes, quietly getting his first taste of regimental duty and maneuvers, and busily studying military history and technical books on ordnance. In order to qualify for that staff work which might some day come along he obtained admission to the Saumur calvary school. Following a year's work at Saumur he was advanced to the rank of Captain in the summer of 1878, and returned to the artillery in command of a field battery of the 10th Regiment stationed at Rennes, in Brittany.

This was a fateful move. It was here that he was to meet the lady whom he married a year later—Mademoiselle Julie Bienvenue of St. Brieuc. They purchased the estate of Trefeunteuniou in Finisterre, near Morlaix in the western jut of Brittany midway between the Atlantic and the Montagne d'Arrée. The old manor house of gray stone, with its dormer windows in a sharply pointed roof, is set down in extensive forests, interspersed by meadows and ploughland. Here the future general took up scientific forestry as a recreation. Here too he put a domestic chapel at one end of his garden. Here his only son was born, and here he began his preparation, soon after the purchase

for admission to that Staff College, through which the road leads to high command.

Success in his chosen profession must rest entirely upon himself. Of influential friends he had none. For political wire-pulling he had no taste and less talent. Moreover he was a devout Catholic, and the Church was out of fashion in France just then. Anti-clericalism had chiefly a political significance, but appointments to the Staff College also had a political aspect, and Clericals, people who had Jesuit priests for brothers, were likely to be discriminated against by timid politicians afraid of their constituencies.

Ferdinand Foch's religion was not a thing he shouted about. But he professed and practised it, and made no concealment of his faith. He fully appreciated how this might militate against his advancement, but that thought gave him no qualms. "Do what you ought, come what may!" had become the rule of his life. His religion had helped to form his character, and continued to inspire and guide his daily life.

Nevertheless, for a time, the French Ministry of War is said to have kept a secret list of officers who went to mass on Sunday. Foch was doubtless on that list. Ultimately, of course, the good sense of France asserted itself against such prejudice, and the Chamber of Deputies put an end to religious spying.

A more adventurous man than Foch would probably have sought service in France's colonial armies. Wars were fought in half a dozen places in Africa, in French Indo-China and Madagascar, while he remained quietly at home, working away at his studies of that military past which must be used to illuminate the future and form the mind which can cope with emergencies. He probably knew what he was waiting for. The little African side-shows did not greatly matter. The big show in the main tent was to begin by and by. He was fully occupied getting ready for that.

The first recognition which the French Government gave of his exceptional capacity came when he was made a technical expert in the artillery branch of the War Office. At last in 1885 he secured an appointment to the Staff College and graduated fourth from the top of his class after two years. His contacts with his professors and class-mates brought him a certain sort of recognition. They sensed the power of a sinewy mind which brought original thought to bear upon every problem, took account of all difficulties, and wrestled its way to a triumphant solution of the case. Politicians might not recommend him but, in a pinch, his brother officers would point him out later on. That much was accomplished. The

men who would be on the inside were taking his measure.

After some years of staff work with various units he began in 1894 six years of teaching at the Staff College, as assistant professor of military history and strategy. Then in 1900 he was advanced to a lieutenant-colonelcy and a full professorship. Here he found himself functioning satisfactorily, training the future leaders of the French armies, imbedding his sound principles in their minds. During his incumbency he taught nearly five hundred picked soldiers what was wrong with France in 1870, and how to turn the tables on Germany whenever the next war should be. He left a mark on the French army which nothing could efface. Without knowing it, he was building up his own future organization.

Charles Dawbarn writes:

The *Ecole de Guerre* never had a more brilliant teacher of tactics and strategy. He has the gift of firing others with his own enthusiasm. Under the spell of his imagination, the war maps became living charts of experience and adventure. Streams and woods and mountains became instinct with new meaning. The roads, winding like white ribbons across the country, resounded with the tramp of soldiers. Every coppice gleamed with guns; the terrain of the great campaigns shivered with the voice of war.

In 1905 he was abruptly transferred to the command of the Fifth Army Artillery. By this time many of his schoolmates at the Polytechnique had already attained the rank of General. As a matter of fact his new command was ordinarily vested in a general. But Foch's promotion was deferred until June 20, 1907, when at last the French Government honored itself by creating him Brigadier General, and attached him to the General Staff in Paris.

About this time General Bonnal, Director of the Staff College where Foch had taught with such distinction, resigned, and a number of candidates rushed forward to succeed him. M. Clemenceau was President of the Council of Minister, or Premier, and Clemenceau was a famous "Anti-Clerical."

Nevertheless it was Clemenceau who invited Foch to lunch, and when the meal had been consumed, said:

"I've news for you, General. You are the new Director of the Staff College."

"But I never put in for it!" Foch exclaimed in astonishment.

"Nevertheless you've been appointed, and I am satisfied that you will make a great success of the job."

As he murmured his thanks, Foch thought of his unostentatious but unconcealed Catholic affiliation, and his Jesuit brother, and the possible political consequences to Clemenceau of such an appointment.

His fine and honorable delicacy forced him to clear up this point frankly.

"M. le Premier, are you aware," said he, "that one of my brothers is a Jesuit Father?"

The "Tiger" laughed heartily. "Bah, what difference does that make? You are appointed, my dear Director; you would still be appointed, though you were related to all the Jesuits in France. You will turn us out first class officers. That is what I'm after!"

From 1907 to 1911 General Foch directed the École de Guerre.

Between 1900 and 1903 were published his two compact treatises on the military arts,—"The Principles of War," and "The Conduct of War." Into them he has boiled down the teachings which laid the basis for co-operative efforts and mutual understanding amongst corps, battalion, and army commanders in actual War.

The principles of war are few and simple, but proper application to circumstances varies as widely as the circumstances. War, Foch has held, cannot be reduced to a science, and is more accurately to be termed an art. It was exact and mathematical theories of war, long entertained by the French, which led to the disasters of 1870. Those theories left out the

psychological element, the human factor, the moral imponderables.

War is no laboratory experiment with conditions all more or less under control. It is "waged on the battlefield in the midst of the unforseen," as he writes, "under the stress of danger." To be waged successfully it must make use of "suprise and all the qualities of force, violence, brutal strength, to create terror," because only thus can the enemy's "will to conquer" be overcome. For Foch "the will to conquer" is the central consideration.

Beyond that two things are necessary,—one is security, and the other is freedom of action. Make sure of all the enemy's preparations, and purposes, and make secure your counter-preparations, and thereby the triumph of your purposes. That is "sûreté." Whatever happens to you, don't allow the enemy to maneuver you into a position where your freedom of action is lost. Keep yourself free to move in any required direction.

Beyond these one great final principle must be kept in mind. Wars are not won by defense, but by attack. The French lost the war of 1870 by working on defense principles, while the Prussians attacked.

This is not the place to enter into a detailed description of the manner in which the General works out the application of these general principles. He pours

out his life-time's accumulation of erudition in military history, with special emphasis upon the history of the Franco-Prussian War. The approach is realistic. He is interested not in defending France's record, but in appreciating the true situation which could not be seen at the time.

A brief passage will show the sportsmanlike way in which he acknowledged the defects of French leadership, and his judicious estimate of the Germans.

"German leadership in the Franco-Prussian War was by no means perfect. It seemed to be so admirable, because on the whole, it was good, and because that of the French Generals was abominable, except sometimes on the actual battlefield where their soldier courage and the quality of their men enabled them to make a good fight.

"Even here an unfortunate theory of the best tactics for the quick-firing, breech-loading rifle handicapped them throughout. The sound theory of Napoleon's days which held its own still in the campaign of Magenta and Solferino, was that attack is the best form of defense, and the impetuous character of the French makes their attack formidable.

"Besides, it is only by attacking that an enemy can be really beaten. But with the coming of the breech-loading rifle, there had come into fashion a

new doctrine that the way to win battles was to stand pat on a good position, perferably a line of high ground, and use the rapid fire to destroy the enemy as he attacked.

"'The defensive is now superior,' was the teaching of the French military schools. The Germans held by the sounder doctrine, 'Only the attack can give results. It may be more costly than formerly, but the cost must be paid. To attack is to assert from the outset the sense of power and the determination to win.'"

In another place General Foch writes, "Of all mistakes only one is disgraceful—*inaction*. We must seek to create the course of events, not merely be passively subject to it. Above all we must organize the attack." Foch quotes Joseph de Maistre as saying that a lost battle is a battle one believes lost, and no other kind. His own maxim is, "A battle won is a battle in which one refuses to admit defeat." These two remind us of Frederick the Great's remark that "The most obstinate wins—that is the true source of success."

Through these passages we get glimpses of the master mind which later was to organize the Allied victory.

From 1911 onward thunder-clouds gathered over Europe, and lightnings flashed intermittently, some-

times near at hand, and sometimes, apparently at a distance. As Bismarck remarked, so much explosive material, psychologic and military, had been stored in every European nation, that it needed only one careless spark to set off the whole magazine. The spark was Sarajevo's foul murder of the Austrian Crown Prince and his consort by a political assassin. Detonation after detonation followed, and soon all Europe was in flames.

General Joffre, Commander in Chief of France's Armies, in difficulties with his mobilization, and in great uncertainty as to the plans of the Germans,—since it was difficult to believe that they would actually violate Belgian neutrality,—spread his battalions in a long thin line from Belfort to Maubeuge, that is to say, from Switzerland to Belgian Flanders.

Foch was in command of the crack Twentieth Corps of de Castelnau's Second Army. The Germans hammered their way through the forts of Liége, reached Brussels and besieged Namur, and Joffre determined upon a counter-stroke. But it was not done in accordance with Foch's principles. It was an attack on a wide front without adequate reinforcements to follow through behind the attacking troops. And it was launched at a foe whose superiority in numbers and guns was lamentably underestimated.

The Battle of Trouée de Charmes was a protracted

and complicated affair. The "fog of war" still surrounds it, and will continue to do so until many years have elapsed, bringing out all the staff histories and orders and documents. Lacking them only the most general conclusions can be formed of what actually happened. Obviously it was not in the nature of a victory. On the other hand it was what might be called an honorable defeat, and it was saved at one point from developing into a disaster by the extraordinary skill and daring shown in the troop dispositions made by the General commanding the Twentieth Corps of the Second Army.

Foch held a pivotal point of that forty mile battle line until the troops around his could retire in good order, and then fought a brilliant series of rear-guard actions which delayed the enemy in following the battle-worn men to their new positions.

The part he had played was destined to carry him to wider fields of usefulness. Joffre wired him to hand over his corps to General Balfourier and proceed to Chalons, ninety miles away. The Commander-in-Chief expressed delight at his good work, and placed him in command of the Ninth Army, a unit on paper, but in fact scattered in half a dozen places.

Within a week Foch assembled it and organized it and with it fought a decisive part in the Battle of the Marne—usually spoken of as the turning point of the

whole war, and certainly marking a finish to the first rush of the Germans. "Papa" Joffre has often been praised for his skill in replacing incompetent officers with able ones. It has been said that his chief work in the first year of the war was the reorganization of the French High Command. But none of his appointments showed greater wisdom than the placing of Foch in command of the Ninth Army. He may have regretted a few of his appointments. That one he can never have failed to recall with tremendous pride.

For a long time the Battle of the Marne went against the French. German troops, flushed with their victories, poured in overwhelming grey-coated hordes out of every wood and valley, attacking with intense fury. Foch's army was in the middle of the battle line. With Hanoverians and Prussian guard opposite him deluging his counter attacks with concentrated machine-gun fire it looked as if his center was about to give way, letting through the German deluge and bringing the castastrophe. His reserves are said to have been all in line, and his men were almost exhausted.

At this point Foch is supposed to have wired to Joffre a grimly humorous telegram. The newspapers published it everywhere, and if it was not authentic, at least it expressed his undaunted spirit.

"Situation excellent. My center is broken and my right is giving way. I shall attack."

On September 9th Foch discovered a fissure between two German commands, the Saxons and the Prussian Guards, and hurled the 42nd Division under General Grosetti suddenly into this breach, with results that are history. The tide was turned. Elsewhere on the long front other decisive actions took place, but none were of a more crucial character than the Ninth Army's superb victory in the marshes of St. Gond.

Foch's orders of that September 9th show his theory of obstinate refusal to admit defeat.

"The German army is in the last stage of exhaustion; the units and the orders are hopelessly entangled; the command has lost its bearings. The vigorous offensive of our troops has taken the enemy by surprise; he counted on our offering no further resistance. It is of the last importance to take advantage of this state of affairs. At this decisive hour, when the honor and the existence of France are at stake, officers must draw from the energy of our race the strength to hold out till the moment when the enemy shall retire exhausted. The disorder in the German ranks is the sign of our coming victory; our army has only to throw all its energy into the continuance of this struggle, to stop the enemy's advance and hurl him out of our country

But every one must be convinced that success is to those who hold out the longest."

The first battle of the Marne was won, and the long dreary trench warfare was about to commence—nearly four years of stalemate not to be ended until this same Foch was given command over all the Allied Armies to coordinate their operations and build the final victory.

When he received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor for his work at the Marne, the citation stated his achievement as follows:

"For several days he held back the violent attacks directed against our center, and finally drove back the enemy to the northwards by a vigorous offensive, giving proof of calm determination and remarkable skill in maneuver, sustained by energy and tenacity that rose superior to every difficulty."

From that famous September 9, 1914 and the day, three and a half years later when he was entrusted with the Supreme Command, every move which Foch made would seem to have been planned not simply to fit him for this work, but to establish such confidence in him on the part of French, Belgian, and British troops that he *could* be chosen.

His first command of troops of various nationalities came almost immediately after the Marne battle. The "race to the sea" was on. Both sides extended their

flanks as rapidly as possible and Foch, now style "Assistant to the Commander in Chief," took up h headquarters at Doullens and later at Cassel in com mand of French, Belgian and British troops who we determined to hold the channel ports against th Germans. Foch could not issue orders to King Albe of Belgium, nor to Sir John French, but his exposition and his advice came to be listened to, and on the whole was followed.

There is little of biographical interest to report upo the career of General Foch during the years of stale mate. He early became and remained General i Command of the Northern Front from Compiégne t the sea, where the chief endeavor was to co-operat with the British and Belgians, throwing in Frenc troops at crucial moments where they were mos needed.

By his tact and good will and staunch loyalty h endeared himself to the successive British commander Sir John French and Sir Douglas Haig. The wa dragged slowly on to the Battle of the Somme, whic some have designated as a counter-attack on a giganti scale against the German offensive toward Verdun.

That spring—1916—Foch was driving rapidly alon the north bank of the Marne not far from Meaux, fa from any battle. A woman with a child tried to da across the road just in front of the General's car, an

the chauffeur in doging her ran head-on into a tree beside the road. Foch was taken to the hospital at Meaux, and several wounds in his scalp were stitched.

So important was his welfare considered to be, and so lowering to the morale of the troops would have been the news of his accident, that no announcement was made of it until after his recovery. While he lay in the hospital M. Briand, (then Premier) M. Poincare, (then President of the Republic), and "Papa" Joffre all met at his bedside in great anxiety. But they came away reassured. Foch was soon back at work, helping Lord Haig draw the plans for the Battle of the Somme.

Beginning on July 1, 1916 the Battle of the Somme developed into a protracted siege, and lasted a year and a half, until at New Year's, 1917, the Germans retreated to the so-called Hindenburg line, and heartened the Allies with the first big gain of territory since the invading tide was hurled back at the Marne.

Ill health forced General Foch to resign his command and take a rest in the summer of 1916. He was nearing the age at which French officers are automatically retired—65. But the *Official Gazette* of September 30, 1916 announced that the army regulations were to be waived in General Foch's case, because of his extraordinary services. "Without limit of age" his name was to be kept on Section 1 of the

General Staff, the section from which men are selected for high command.

He was soon at work forming a select committee of officers to draw plans for the future conduct of the war. At that time no one thought a unified command was feasible, and no efforts were being made in that direction. Yet no better preparation could possibly have been given to General Foch, if the aim had been deliberately to equip him for his future post.

He made up his little committee—including young General Weygand, who has since arrived at great distinction on his own account, and whom Foch had used as his Chief of Staff throughout his active campaigning, having discovered him at the Battle of the Marne. In fact Weygand has been in some sort a son to Foch. His only real son having been killed in the early days of the war, gallantly leading a charge against the Germans.

It was characterisitc of Foch that, having formed his committee, he should set up his offices, not in Paris where repeated public appearances, dinners, and speeches are demanded of prominent generals, but thirty miles away in the little cathedral city of Senlis, where there was peaceful countryside and where he could live the out-of-door life he had always loved.

First of all Foch and Weygand prepared against the German offensive which was threatened through

the Black Forest and across the corner of Switzerland. But Germany thought better of violating Swiss neutrality, and the plans never needed to be used. Next Foch and his aide flew to Italian headquarters to prepare for a collapse on the Italian front and the injection of French and British troops into the Italian lines to stiffen their resistance. In this case their plans saved Italy for future triumphs in the war.

In 1917 Imperial Russia collapsed and the Eastern Front all but ceased to exist. Quantities of Austrian and German troops were released for future use against the westerly fronts. Their effect was first felt in Italy. Austrian troops, stiffened with Germans, broke the Italian lines at Caporetto on the Insonzo and in the major disaster which followed captured vast numbers of men and stores of every sort. Perhaps all would have been lost if Foch had not so carefully laid the plans for prompt French and British assistance. A dozen undemoralized units from the French front recalled the Italians to their wonted valor, and enabled them to form a new line on the Piave River.

During these events General Foch became acquainted with the British Premier, David Lloyd George, at a conference at Rapallo attended by the most prominent of civilian and military leaders from the Allied countries. The chief decision of the Rapallo conference was that a central council must be consti-

tuted to knit the efforts of all the Allies into a co-operative whole. They must feel their front to be all one front, and act accordingly. With one break (at Switzerland) their line now ran from the English Channel to the Adriatic. This council was called the Supreme War Council.

The Italian break-down began the evolution of a Supreme Command, and perhaps history will date from it the winning of the war.

Already the idea of a Generalissimo was in the air, but it was still bitterly opposed in England, and the time was not yet ripe to propose it seriously to the Parliaments of any of the Allies. It was something of a gain to set up a Supreme War Council and its deliberations were soon strengthened by the inclusion of our American General Bliss. This was in November 1917. By February the functions of the Council had been enlarged, though the official announcements were kept purposely vague in order to prevent a political uproar.

The aged "Tiger of France," M. Clemenceau, had become Premier,—that same Clemenceau who had insisted upon Ferdinand Foch as the Director of the Staff College.

On the twenty-first of March, 1918, the Germans, strengthened by a million fresh troops from their eastern front began that last terrific onset which so

nearly won the war for them. The British threw in all their reserves. Sir Douglas Haig announced to his men and to the world that they were fighting with their backs to the wall.

On the twenty-sixth of March, five days later, Lord Milner representing England, met M. Clemenceau, representing France, in General Foch's headquarters at Doullens, the same little village he had used in 1914, then far behind the lines, but now almost dangerously near to the fighting line. The situation was desperate. Who suggested Foch as the Generalissimo has not been told. It is said the proposal came from Clemenceau. In any case Haig and the other commanders, French as well as British, welcomed the suggestion, and Foch was appointed.

The story goes that Clemenceau, half chaffing, said to Foch, "Well, you've been after unifed command for two years. I hope your ambition is satisfied." To this Foch responded with indignant force, "You give me a lost cause and expect my ambition to be gratified! This appointment means nothing to me,—so far as I personally am concerned. Nevertheless, I accept!"

However, it was not until March 30th that the appointment was publicly announced. At once General Pershing reported to Foch, and offered to place the entire American forces at his disposal. Indeed,

it is hinted that American pressure upon England and France had had a great deal to do with the appointment of a supreme commander.

The Kaiser had said: "The Allies can never defeat me because they can never unite." At Doullens on March 26th the Allies gave the lie to the Kaiser. They did unite, and the time was at hand when they could defeat him.

The first great rush of the Germans had been stopped. They were forced to pause to consolidate their positions, and to build new roads across the shattered terrain which their stupendous barrage had pulverized and pocked with huge shell holes.

On March 28, Foch declared the situation was satisfactory and went rapidly to work to create a body of reserve, a "mass for maneuvre" with which later he could begin his series of counter-strokes. For some weeks he was to be mainly occupied with holding back the German blows which however, steadily declined in power, but which remained terribly dangerous to the last and were very shrewdly aimed.

But his success in warding them off without too much loss of ground or matériel, led at last on April 9th to the first candid statement of the fact that he was in charge of all Allied strategy and tactics, with absolute power to make appropriate dispositions of troops. When General Foch was appointed Chief of

the Allied Armies Mr. Lloyd George is supposed to have asked him, "Suppose you could have either hand, yours or Ludendorff's, in the great game you are playing against each other,—which would you choose?" "I should prefer my own!" Foch replied promptly, and months later, in the darkest moments of the final struggle he reiterated this thought in a message to the British Premier. "Tell him," Foch declared, "that I still prefer my own cards." English statesmen had to that date refrained from other than the most guarded admissions concerning his powers as Generalissimo. They had deliberately minimized their commitments to avoid arousing clamors and jealousies. But on April 9, when things were going much better for the Allies, Lloyd George in the Commons, and Lord Curzon in the House of Lords, told the truth. Foch was not a mere "coordinator." He was in supreme command.

"A few days after the battle started," said Lloyd George, "not merely the Government, but the commanders in the field—we had not merely the Field Marshal but all the commanders present—were so convinced—and the same thing applies to the French army, they were so convinced—of the necessity of a more complete strategic unity, that they agreed to the appointment of General Foch to the

supreme direction of the strategy of all the Allied Armies on the Western Front.

"May I say just a word about General Foch? It is not merely that he is one of the most brilliant soldiers in Europe. He is a man who, when we were attacked and were in a similar plight at the first battle of Ypres, rushed the French army there by every conceivable expedient—omnibuses, cabs, lorries, anything he could lay his hands upon—he crowded French divisions through, and undoubtedly helped to win that great battle. There is no doubt about the loyalty and comradeship of General Foch.

"A Generalissimo in the ordinary and full sense of the term may be impracticable . . . . I have always felt that we are losing value and efficiency in the Allied armies through lack of co-operation and concentration. We have sustained many a disaster already through that, and we shall encounter many more unless this defect in our machinery is put right . . . . I entreat the nation to stand united for a united control of the strategical operations of our armies at the front. We are fighting a very powerful foe, who in so far as he has triumphed, has triumphed mainly because of the superior unity and concentration of his strategic plans."

Meanwhile Lord Curzon in the House of Lords was saying:

"The strategic control ought to be invested in a single brain. We have suffered grievously from want of this. In these circumstances, if a single direction was required, it could only be by a Frenchman; and if a Frenchman—by General Foch."

Lord French declared that Foch was the greatest leader the war had produced. Lord Crewe, though he spoke for the Opposition Party in the British Parliament, admitted that "there was no officer in the French army more admired or more trusted by the British troops than General Foch." Best of all the rank and file of British soldiery remembered how splendidly Foch had helped them when they were hard-pressed during the two long battles of Ypres, how he had flung French troops into their exhausted lines at the psychological moments. They had no fear that he would sacrifice British soldiers to save the French, or give up the Channel ports to strengthen the defense of the southern portion of France and thus expose London to long-range gunnery.

While the Germans were spending themselves in a series of drives which pushed one salient after another into the Allied lines, Foch was content to defend his positions stubbornly, and make preparations for the

moment when he should strike with all his might. Their high-water mark was brought about by the Germans in early June, 1918, when they reached the river just beyond Chateau Thierry. The rest of June passed without an important gain of territory for either side. Stalemate seemed to have returned, though the fighting had taken on all the fury of desperation.

Foch's patient waiting for the moment when his preparations should be complete, quite misled the Germans. Their newspapers declared that the French reserves had all been used up in stopping the various German offensives. They knew his teachings and his characteristic strategy, and only on this basis could they understand his refraining from attack.

On July 15th the Germans struck their last offensive blow, near Chateau Thierry. General Gouraud with French and American detachments held down their gains to trifling dimensions. Then, while they were still off balance spent by the force of their own blow, Foch launched his decisive counter-attack.

Using the armies of General Mangin and General Degoutte as a battering-ram he burst into the German lines from Soissons to Chateau Thierry for an average gain of five miles. This was on July 18th. That day was presently seen to have been the beginning of the end of the war. The German retreat began within a week, —an orderly retreat, covered by energetic counter-

attacks,—but nevertheless a *hopeless* retreat which was never allowed to slow down and stabilize itself in "prepared" positions, but continually beaten back further and further.

Early in August, when the world had begun to rejoice in glad fore-knowledge of ultimate victory, the French Government conferred the greatest military honor it possesses upon General Foch. On August 7th he was decreed a Marshal of France by the President of the French Republic. Soon the Germans sued for peace. That was October 4th. A little more than a month later—November 11th—the armistice was signed.

On November 25th Foch rode through liberated Strasbourg at the head of horizon-blue French columns marching toward the Rhine, where they were to remain for that "war after the war" with recalcitrant, self-bankrupted Germany, until at last a peace *with* victory could be firmly imposed, five years and more later.

The labors of Marshal Foch did not end at the Armistice. Perhaps, when the history of the last few years can be written with full knowledge, it will be seen that his services to the French nation since November 11, 1918, have surpassed anything previous. He has been in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia strengthening France's Allies with counsel and the inspira-

tion of his personality. And throughout he has sat on the right hand, so to speak, of successive Premiers and Presidents, to guide their foreign policy safely through post-war storms.

He is an old man now, but vigorous, athletic and alert, with quiet blue eyes that can still flash fire upon occasion, but a little broken by age and sorrow. He lost his only son, Germain Foch, in the mighty struggle. One of his daughters also is widowed. The lovely old gray manor house at Trefeunteuniou still beckons to this lover of the peaceful countryside, this hater of politics and shams and cities,—but the old, joyous, family circle is not so joyous now. He returns there when he can to his memories. There some day he will retire full of years and honors to round out his splendid, studious, dutiful life with meditation—and prayer.

The world will remember him with unstinting admiration. He has nobly played his part. He has lived up to his maxim: "Do what you ought, come what may."

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NICOLAI LENIN

1870-1924

REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

NICOLAI LENIN

REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

By JOHN SPARGO

I

THE Russian Revolution is not yet a completed event. It is in process. The time for passing judgment upon it has not yet arrived. All we can do is outline the background of historical causes. When the time comes that the epoch of upheaval and change through mankind is now passing can be objectively viewed, in what Matthew Arnold used to call "the dry light of history," it is quite possible that Thursday, March 15, 1917, will be regarded as the most fateful day in that most fateful of all historical epochs. Its importance may well be held to be greater than the day which marked the beginning of the World War.

Upon that fifteenth of March 1917 occurred one of those great events which changed the whole subsequent history of mankind. Because of the happenings of that day, new and undreamed of problems have arisen to harass the statesmen of every civilized nation;

great imperial dynasties disappeared, new nations came into being, and old nations took on new forms. Because of the happenings of that day the greatest war in human history was indubitably prolonged at a cost in human life and suffering which, if it could be computed, would stagger the imagination; the Peace Treaty of Versailles could not have been other than it was; and the whole tragic aftermath of the war was inevitable.

Upon March 15, 1917 Czarism ceased to exist in Russia. The mighty Russian Empire, one-sixth of the land area of the globe, populated by 180 millions of people, in the most dramatic manner imaginable, broke with its historic past. In so doing it precipitated a crisis involving all civilization, a crisis which, seven years later, had not yet been outlined. It was the opening scene of a tremendous drama of Revolt, which is still being enacted upon the world's vast stage, moving from tragic episode to tragic episode to ends not yet disclosed. What the wisest statesman in the world cannot now comprehend or foreknow, it may be, by the end of the century will be fully understood by children; and an American boy, in a little prairie school house, will recite to admiring parents the by then familiar story of the drama that opened on that day in March, 1917, when the Roman off dynasty fell.

Under the Czars Russia held a peculiar place in the world. Many called it "the land of paradoxes". Great contradictions and incompatibilities were so universal, that the incongruous was more usual and familiar than the congruous. This was the result of its geographical position and its historical evolution. Divided between Europe and Asia, it was the meeting —and also the mingling—place of the civilizations of the Orient and the Occident.

Throughout the Nineteenth Century it had been increasingly Occidental in its aspirations, steadily aiming at Western standards. Indeed, the passion for "Westernization," which began as a cult, idealizing everything in Western Europe, became one of the dominant psychological forces in Russia. At the same time, Asiatic traditions and ideas, frequently the more powerful because unrecognized or repressed, exerted a profound influence. Latent but tremendously potent Asiatic factors subtly wove themselves into the psychology of Russia. This great Empire had been consolidated under the rule of successive czars by processes and methods as varied as its component parts, or as the numerous peoples and tribes it comprehended. This is attested by the sovereign's official title: he was "Czar of all the Russias."

On the West and South Russia had grown because virile and intelligent peoples occupying the hinter-

land, cut off from the seaboard by occupied coastal territories, remorselessly hewed their way to the coast, and established themselves there by military conquest. On the East, clear across Siberia to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, the process was that of peaceful penetration and settlement, not military conquest. It was by civilian pioneering that Siberia was made part of the Russian Empire. A great No-Man's Land, inhabited only by a few scattered and nomadic tribes, it was settled by hardy and adventurous spirits, much as the territory in our own Western States was settled, and by men of a similar type. These independent adventurers planted the outposts of civilization, established elementary—but for them sufficient—forms of self-government, and made Siberia a Russian land in fact long before the Imperial Russian Government saw the wisdom of adding it to the Empire. Thus in the main Asiatic Russia was more completely Occidental, and less influenced by Oriental culture, than a large part of European Russia, where, centuries earlier, peoples of Asiatic origin had settled and established customs, laws, usages, and forms of tribal government, which remained to be incorporated in the life and institutions of later centuries.

There were many such paradoxes as this in the Russia of the czars. Feudalism retained its hold there much longer, and much more tenaciously, than else-

where in Europe—excepting some of the lesser Slav countries. Serfdom remained a legal institution, the bedrock of the economic and political system, long after the nations of Western Europe had established parliamentary systems of government. It was not until 1861 that serfdom was abolished in Russia, and the first decade of the Twentieth Century was half spent before even the beginnings of parliamentary government appeared. Even then, 1905, and right up to the Revolution in 1917, the Russian parliament, the Duma, was little more than a debating society, at all times subject to the Czar's will or whim.

In theory the government was absolute autocracy, in practice it was an oligarchy, in which the Emperor might be either dictator or puppet, according to circumstances and the character of the man. The whole system of government, in its theory and its practice, was far more oriental than occidental. Sometimes lax and indulgent, it was generally and characteristically cruel and oppressive, and was frequently spoken of as "a tyranny tempered by assassinations." Notably corrupt and incompetent, it occasionally produced a brilliant and enlightened statesman. It is entirely in keeping with the whole character of Russia under the old regime that from a government whose oppression of its people had called forth the indignation of the civilized world, there should have emanated the

noblest act of European statesmanship for more than a hundred years, the famous Peace Rescript of Nicholas II.

In no country of importance, regarded by the rest of mankind as civilized, were the great mass of the people steeped in such miserable poverty, such universal ignorance and superstition. More than 80 per cent of the population was illiterate. Serfdom had ceased to be a legal institution, but the characteristic evils of that feudal relation continued to express themselves. It was a common thing for the mass of the Russians to be referred to, by their own leaders, as "the dark people," the reference being to the mental darkness in which they dwelt.

Yet, in keeping with the rule of paradox and incongruity, nowhere was European intellectual culture developed to a more generous height than in Russia. No nation in the world cold boast of richer or nobler manifestations of moral and intellectual power. In literature, in music, and in painting Russian genius is represented by names and works of universally acknowledged preeminence. Pushkin and Lermontov in poetry; Gogol, Turgeniev, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky in prose; Pervo, Repin and Verestchagin in painting; Mussorgsky, Tchaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov in music—these are but a few of the great names that stand out to bear witness to the richness of Russia's creative genius.

Nor is the contribution of Russia to the sciences less distinctive or less important. There is not a single department of scientific investigation in which Russia is not represented by names which the scientists of all the world hold in honor. Lomonosov and Lebedev, among physicists; Lobachevsky and Chebyshev, among mathematicians; Mendeleiev, among chemists; Metchnikoff and Pavlov, among physiologists; Kovalevsky, among economists; Kliuchevsky, among historians—where, in any country, shall we find greater or worthier names?

If under the old regime Russian life in general be likened to a darkened sky, it must be acknowledged that in no land were the beacon lights of mind and soul kept burning with brighter or purer flame.

In keeping with the rule that every phase of Russian life, must present its paradox, it is noteworthy that while industrial capitalism had developed in Russia to a far less degree than in any other "Great Power," the country having been barely touched by industrialism, yet the revolt against capitalism nowhere attained such thoroughness. In none of the great countries was the industrial proletariat so small, so numerically insignificant; yet in none was the proletarian protest voiced with such vigor and intellectual strength.

The Russian Revolution itself presents a paradox in its every aspect: Begun as a revolution for de-

mocracy, directed against the despotism of a powerful bureaucracy, it has expressly denied and denounced democracy, and created a far more powerful bureaucracy than the old one. Starting as a pacifist, anti-militarist movement, it has carried militarism to a development hitherto undreamed of in the modern world. Avowing themselves to be guided by a system of political and social philosophy which teaches that a maximum development of industrialism and an overwhelming preponderance of proletarians are the indispensable pre-requisite conditions for the attempt to establish Socialism, the leaders of this Revolution have undertaken to set up a Socialist Republic in a land where industrialism is almost negligible, and where the proletariat constitutes a small minority, about two per cent of the whole population.

II

The Revolution of March, 1917, was precipitated by overstrain due to the contribution made by Russia toward defeat of the Central Empires. The manner in which the Revolution brought about the disintegration of the Russian armies, led to the elimination of Russia from the war, and culminated in the shameful peace of Brest-Litovsk, has tended to eclipse the magnitude of the Russian contribution to the Allied Cause and its ultimate triumph. However, Russia's

losses in killed and wounded men equalled those of England, France, Belgium and the United States combined! Russia's operations during the Autumn of 1914 and January 1915 made it impossible for the forces of the Central Empires to strike decisively on the Western Front. By March, 1915, the German High Command had apparently concluded that the most formidable blows must be directed against Russia, and large transfers of troops were made from the Franco-Belgian to the Russian Front. Thus by Russia's sacrifice it was possible for preparations to be made on the Western Front, notably British preparations, which made certain in the ultimate defeat of the enemy. Again, by costly offensives in 1916 Russia relieved the pressure at Verdun and made its salvation possible.

This is not the place nor the occasion for even the briefest sketch of the World War, but if we are to understand what has happened to Russia, we must get into our minds the fact that her staggering sacrifices in the war, account for the Revolution and for its special character.

It was not merely the stupendous loss of man power. Along with that went disorganization of the whole economic life. The railways, inadequate for the needs of peace, and hopelessly inadequate for the needs of war, went rapidly to pieces. Corruption and mis-

management, similar to that in 1904 during the war with Japan, were everywhere manifest. The soldiers were miserably provided for. There were ominous rumors of treason in high places. In the soil of these conditions discontent flourished apace.

The war, which during the first year received a far greater measure of popular approval and support than any other war in which Russia had engaged in more than a century, lost that distinction and steadily became more and more unpopular. The cry for peace arose and mingled with the cry for bread. Over the battlefields and through the cities and villages surged the cry, ominously increasing in intensity, "Give us Peace and Bread."

Such was the background of the Revolution.

III

The Revolution came with dramatic and unexpected swiftness. There had been signs of a menacing volume of discontent and protest during the preceding months, at which statesmen in the Allied Countries had expressed alarm. But neither the Russian Government nor the democratic leaders of the people had any idea that the crisis would come with such swiftness. How completely the statesmen misread the portentous signs can be judged from a single illustration. Alarmed by the growing revolutionary unrest, the British

Government sent a distinguished statesman of large experience in foreign affairs—Lord Milner—to observe the situation in Russia and make report upon it. He arrived in February, 1917.

However after careful consultation with the Russian leaders, Lord Milner satisfied himself that the unrest was of little consequence, returned to England, and reported to the War Cabinet that there was no danger of revolution in Russia, that the dynasty was more strongly entrenched in the affections of the people than ever before, that there was a greater national consciousness than Russia had ever known, manifesting itself in a definite and widespread feeling of patriotism. Within a few days after that report was made, the Revolution was an accomplished fact, and the dynasty was overthrown. Yet there was reasonable justification for Lord Milner's report. Even the Revolutionary leaders have frequently admitted that prudent concessions by the bureaucracy at the eleventh hour could have averted the Revolution.

The first leaders of the Revolution were not internationalists, but strong nationalists. They were ardent patriots and unwavering in their loyalty to the Allied Cause. However keenly they felt that Russia had not been properly supported by her allies, they harbored no intention of forsaking them and making a separate peace. They hoped that the Allies

would come to Russia's assistance and that the struggle to a victorious peace could be carried on. The task they assumed was herculean—and, as we now know, impossible of accomplishment.

A military dictatorship, by drastic changes in the management of the army, by meeting the critical food situation in the towns and cities, firmly repressing agitation and disorder, and leaving to the future all questions of democracy, might have carried on the war to the end. Or, by frankly and promptly abandoning the war and attending wholly to the establishment of a democratic regime, the constitutional and democratic character of the Revolution might have been successfully preserved and its capture by the Bolshevist leaders averted.

But the men who composed the Provisional Government chose neither of these alternatives. They sought to meet, at the same time the needs of War and the needs of Democracy. Loyalty to the War, to the international ideals of the Allies and to the obligations of Russia to its allies, was linked to loyalty to the democratic ideals which for three score years had inspired the best and bravest of Russian's sons and daughters. However much we may honor the first leaders of the Russian Revolution—men like Rodzianko, Prince Lvov, Miliukov, Kerensky, and others —and however much we may honor their intentions,

we cannot resist the remorseless logic of the facts, so clear in the retrospective light, that the program they set themselves was beyond human power to accomplish.

Bolshevism in Russia at this time, we must remember, was confined to a petty sect. Its numerical strength was no greater than that of our own I. W. W. Its leaders could have been dealt with and repressed at any time during the first four months. It was as a spark among the dry leaves of the forest, which might have been trodden out with ease. But that would have meant the adoption of measures of repression suggestive of the old regime and quite repugnant to the generous democratic idealism with which the leaders were inspired. There were men in the Provisional Government whose democratic idealism was tempered by considerations of prudence and expediency. These men would have placed the handful of Bolshevist leaders in prison, or in front of a firing squad, but the majority of their colleagues scorned the suggestion of any such compromise with their faith. There was one moment, in July, when Trotzky and Kamenev were actually imprisoned, when Lenin was in hiding, his whereabouts known and so completely surrounded by the police that he could have been taken prisoner without difficulty. These men and their associates had admitted conspiring against the Provisional Government. It was believed

that they were sustained by German funds. In the circumstances their release was not an act to be acclaimed. It is possible to acknowledge the fine idealism which prompted it, and to pay honor to such inflexible devotion to fundamental conceptions of right, while holding that greater good would have resulted from a policy less fine, from a more pragmatic morality and a greater regard for expediency.

From March 15 to November 7, the day upon which the Bolshevist *coup d'etat* occurred, the Provisonal Government, under different combinations of leadership, heroically, and against continuously increasing odds, strove to carry on the war and to create the forms and institutions necessary to give effect to the spirit of the Revolution. History will doubtless preserve the honorable record of those efforts, a record in which there is indeed much of error and vacillation and weakness, but all, amply outweighed by the generous sum of deeds and decisions which posterity will admiringly approve.

And yet, when all this has been said, the period of the Revolution under the Provisonal Government must always be looked upon as merely an episode. No lasting practical importance can be attached to its efforts to carry out is constructive program. Its failure to crush the first Bolshevist revolt, when that might have been done with ease and with impunity,

will hold a far more important place in history than the social and political reforms it sought to initiate. In this brief summary of the great drama we can do no more than note the most important of the proposed reforms.

They declared at once that the monarchical system was ended forever. Russia was henceforth to be a Republic. They had no hesitation in declaring, from the very first, that it was to be a constitutional State based upon the completest democracy imaginable. When we remember that in the first Provisional Government, under Prince Lvov, there was a majority of aristocrats and landowners, it is significant that no question of placing any properties or cultural limitation upon the suffrage was ever made. The new government was to be in all respects "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," based upon universal, direct, equal suffrage, for both sexes.

It was immediately proclaimed that a National Constituent Assembly—or, as we should say, Constitutional Convention—would be elected upon this broad democratic basis to formulate and adopt those constitutional provisions which the representatives of the people might deem best. In an incredibly short time, the machinery for holding the elections to this Constituent Assembly was devised, organized and set in motion. The efficiency with which this was done, in

the face of immense and complex difficulties, must always stand as a striking evidence of the capacity of the Russian people for self-government. On the side of economic and social reform the Provisional Government did not shirk the responsibility of facing and dealing with the greatest of all Russian problems (the land problem, the most baffling of the legacies inherited from the old order by the new,) a problem which Bolshevism has not solved, and which is now* its most formidable difficulty.

The Provisional Government, despite the fact that it contained so many landowners, declared that the Crown Lands, the large holdings of the Imperial family, and of the monasteries were confiscated, and would be divided among the peasants according to plans to be arranged. It declared, further, that all land was to be distributed among the peasants, the terms and conditions of the distribution to be determined by the Constituent Assembly. Here at last was an overwhelming reassuring response to the cry of land hunger by the peasants.

To make certain that this great reform, of such vital importance to the whole economic life of the nation, should be carried out with all the wisdom the country could command, and with undeviating fidelity to the interests of the peasants, the best-known Russian

*January, 1924.

peasant leaders—men like Chernov, Rakitnikov and Maslov—with various noted agrarian authorities were assigned the task of preparing suitable Land Laws, which when drafted were approved by the National Soviet of Peasants and the Socialist Revolutionary Party, the party which represented the overwhelming majority of the peasants. It was the first time in Russian history, the first time in the history of any great nation, that such a well considered attempt had been made to find a proper solution of the problem of land ownership.

Of only one other action of the Provisional Government is there need to make mention here. Within two weeks from the time that it came into existence and the Romanoff dynasty was declared at an end, the Provisional Government had adopted a decree revoking "all existing restrictions upon the rights of Russian citizens, based upon faith, religious teaching, or nationality," whether these existed for Russia as a whole or only in certain localities. Thus all laws discriminating against the Jews were repealed. The Pale of Settlement was gone the way of absolutism. All the humiliating restrictions which had been imposed upon the Jewish people were swept away. The Jew in Russia was henceforth to be a human being and a citizen, free and equal in a land of free and equal citizenship. Had the Provisional Government

done nothing else than this, it would have justified its brief existence.

IV

Early in April, 1917, a group of Russians left Switzerland, where they had been living in exile, for Russia. By special arrangment with the military authorities and high government officials of Germany, they were permitted to travel through that country, notwithstanding that they were enemy aliens. They travelled in a special car, provided by the German authorities. The expense of their transportation was furnished by the German authorities, according to the statements made by witnesses of the highest authority. Certainly, the Germans had every reason for giving support to the Russian exiles in question, as will appear from the account of their conduct upon their arrival in Russia.

Foremost among the group of Russians who were thus repatriated with the aid and connivance of the most powerful enemy of their country, was the remarkable man who remained until his death on January 21, 1924 at the head of the Soviet Government of Russia, better known to the world as Nicolai Lenin than by his real name, Vladimir Ulyanov. In returning to Russia, Lenin had two major objectives, both of which coincided with the most urgent desires

of the Imperial Government and the military authorities of Germany. One of those objectives was to stir up such revolt among the soldiers in the Russian Army as would compel the Provisional Government to abandon the war. This was not due to any special liking for Germany or desire for its victory. Nothing indeed would have pleased him more than a revolution which would sweep through the armies of both countries. Throughout the war he had passionately proclaimed that the defeat of Russia was desirable from the point of view of progress and freedom in Russia and throughout Europe. That was under Czar Nicholas II, of course.

The fact that czarism had been swept away, that there had been a Revolution, that Russia was now a republic with a Provisional Government at its head, did not materially change his view. A Russian victory, he now held, would inevitably strengthen the military system and the military caste which had sustained the old regime, and might well mean its restoration. Further, from his point of view, a Russian government dominated by the most powerful elements of the bourgeoisie, even though republican in form, would not be any better or more desirable than the old monarchy. Therefore, he was determined to upset the Provisional Government, if possible. Confident in their power to protect themselves against

revolutionary uprisings among their own soldiers, the German military authorities naturally decided to lend this Russian revolutionist every possible assistance.

The personality of such a man cannot fail to interest those who take an intelligent interest in great events. His antecedents, his character, his thoughts, his gifts, his motives, are all of interest to us. Such information is an invaluable aid to the interpretation of historical movements. As it would be impossible to understand the Protestant Reformation without knowing what manner of man Luther was, so it would be impossible to understand Bolshevism without knowing the manner of man its intellectual leader was. Vladimir Ulyanov was born at Simbirsk, in Central Russia, in 1870. It is sometimes stated that he is by birth a member of the hereditary nobility of Russia, but that is not correct. It is correct to say that his father, who was by birth a peasant, attained the rank of a certain petty "nobility." In the old days in Russia a man who rose to certain ranks in the public service attained, automatically, a petty dignity which is hardly consistent with our understanding of the word "nobility." Thus, if a man rose to the rank of senior captain in the navy he automatically became a member of this petty order, and so did every colonel in the army. In the Civil Service the not very important or exalted rank of State Councillor carried the same right.

Lenin's father was a schoolmaster and was appointed inspector of schools for his district. This made him Councillor of State in the civil service, and automatically conferred upon him the only patent of nobility to which he was ever entitled. The honor was not hereditary. It will be seen, therefore, that it is not correct to say that the head of the Soviet Government belongs to the old hereditary nobility of Russia. The truth is that he belongs to the lower bourgeoisie recruited from peasant stock.

At seventeen or thereabouts Nicolai Lenin, as we shall continue to call him, entered the University of Kazan. He had graduated from the gymnasium or high school at Simbirsk, the master of which, it is worth noting, was Feodor Kerensky, father of that Alexander Kerensky who became the head of the Provisional Government and whom Lenin overthrew. It is a remarkable fact that from the same school should be sent forth two lads, friends, belonging to families that were on intimate terms, to meet years afterward in such important roles in the greatest struggle in Russian History. Shortly before Lenin entered the university there occurred a tragedy which we may well believe explains and accounts for much in Lenin's philosophy.

His older brother, Alexander, after a more than ordinarily brilliant career at the gymnasium under the

elder Kerensky, having been awarded the gold medal of the gymnasium, entered the University of St. Petersburg. Like many of the students of the period, he was drawn into the revolutionary movement of the time. This meant simply that he read and circulated Socialist books, attended meetings that were forbidden, and participated in Socialistic debates. He is said to have joined in a procession to the grave of the poet Dobroliubov for the purpose of paying homage to the latter's memory. The procession was broken up by the police. According to the story, the bitterness of his resentment of that act by the police drove him to join the secret, conspiratory society of the time, called "The People's Will." This terroristic society was just then plotting the assassination of the Czar. The plot was discovered and fifteen members, including Alexander Ulyanov, were arrested and placed on trial. According to the accounts of the trial that have become current since the sensational rise of his brother, the young man was not shown to have participated in the plotting by any positive evidence. He simply refused to deny anything that was charged against him or to seek acquittal. He declined to tell anything concerning his fellow members. In court he seems to have made the fatal mistake, probably in a mood of youthful exaltation, of declaring his belief that only by Terror could the struggle for better conditions in Russia be

waged. The trial resulted in five persons being condemned to death, young Ulyanov being one of the five. On May 20, 1886, this young man of fine character and splendid mind was hanged in the courtyard of the Schlusselburg Fortress. That event deeply impressed the younger brother, recently head of Soviet Russia, and that other remarkable man already mentioned, Alexander Kerensky. In this manner did czarism make revolutionists.

Notwithstanding his brother's fate—perhaps because of it—Nicolai Lenin identified himself with the Socialist cause shortly after he entered the University of Kazan. He was soon expelled from the university for making Socialist speeches and taking part in some sort of student rebellion. He was admitted to practice as a lawyer and, it is said, conducted one case in court. That seems to have ended his legal career. In 1891, in his twenty-first year, he went to St. Petersburg, where he attended lectures on law and economics at the University of St. Petersburg, and engaged in journalism for a living. He took an active part in the Socialist movement, but, unlike his brother, he was careful to make it quite clear that he could not identify himself with the "Will of the People" or other terroristic movements. He was, he said, a disciple of Karl Marx, concerning whose theories he wrote and published a treatise at this time. He insisted then

that Socialism could only come in Russia after, and in consequence of, a great industrial development. It required, according to the Marxian system, a highly developed industrialism, the concentration of capital in few hands, the existence of a great industrial proletariat comprising the majority of the people.

These conditions, he then believed, would be realized with relative rapidity. In the meantime, the great task was to organize the workers, endow them with class-consciousness, and, in particular, educate them in economics and politics. For six years he managed to keep out of trouble, but in January, 1897, he was arrested and exiled to Eastern Siberia. There he resided for some time, sending forth a stream of articles and pamphlets, which were published and distributed by the Socialists through their secret agencies. These writings bore as signatures various fictitious names, the most familiar of which, "Lenin," acquired great repute in Russian revolutionary circles. Its assumption of Lenin as the name by which he chooses to be known is perhaps an evidence of pride in his reputation as an author of revolutionary pamphlets.

At the conclusion of the sentence of exile, Lenin was forbidden to reside in any of the large cities, factory towns, or cities in which there were universities. The Czar's secret police, the Okhrana, would

seem to have studied his theoretical writings with some care. They knew that he had no hope of anything like Socialism coming from the peasant masses, that he was disposed to regard the peasants with contempt, and that he rested his hope upon, and made his appeal to, the industrial proletariat and the radical *intelligentsia*. To isolate him from contact with these elements, and to keep him in small villages where he could be readily watched, was the reason for the restriction thus placed upon him after his return from Siberia. Lenin slipped away to Munich, where he lived awhile. Disturbed by the "long arm" of the Okhrana, which could reach over the frontiers into most European countries, he moved to Brussels, where he resided awhile, then to Paris, later to London, and finally to Geneva, where he remained some years, until his return to Russia by means of the German military assistance already described.

In 1898 the Russian Social Democratic Party was formed upon the broad basis of Marxian theory and the tactics derived therefrom. Of course, Lenin was an active and influential member. Associated with him were such men as Plechanov, Avelrod and Martov, most eminent of all Russian followers of Marx, all of whom, we must note in passing, opposed Lenin's later Bolshevist theories in general, and, most bitterly, his policy in the Revolution from 1917 onward. At no

stage of the struggle against the regime he has set up in the name of Marx has he been more vigorously denounced and opposed than by these eminent Marxists who were his colleagues in former years. That, too, is a paradox of the Revolution.

The Social Democratic Party of Russia was, of course, an "illegal body." That is why its work had to be conducted from outside of Russia. Its leaders were exiles, living in Geneva, Zürich, Brussels, Paris, London, and elsewhere. Its official organs were published abroad, generally in London or Geneva, and as many copies smuggled into Russia as could be managed. The headquarters of the party was generally maintained in Switzerland, Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya, acting as secretary. The correspondence of the party, particularly with those in Russia, was conducted in the most elaborate cipher systems, invisible ink being generally used.

From this brief statement it will be readily apparent why the congresses of the party were held outside of Russia. The second congress of the party, in 1903, held part of its sessions in Brussels and the rest in London. At that time, in the course of the London sessions, the word Bolshevist and its derivatives first came into being. Literally, "Bolshevist" means "the most," or "the majority." By derivation, therefore, "Bolshevism" is the "ism," the systematised princi-

ples, of the majority, and "Bolsheviks," or better, the "Bolsheviki," are those who belong to the majority. The term was coined at the party congress and applied to the larger of the two factions that there developed. The other faction was called the "Menshevist"—or minority—faction and its distinctive principles came to be spoken of as "Menshevism"—the "ism" of the minority.

Lenin was the acknowledged leader of the Bolshevist majority—as it then was—and he displayed all those qualities and gifts which he has since used in the larger spnere of government and international politics. With him were associated some of the men who now hold prominent positions in the Soviet regime, but Trotzky was not one of these. Then, and for a long time thereafter, Trotzky stood outside of the controversies that raged between the two factions.

The party held another congress in 1904. At that time the revolutionary movement in Russia was in a great ferment. The Revolution of 1905 was already shaping itself, and an electric tensity prevailed. By this time Lenin and his friends had ceased to be the majority faction. They were now greatly outnumbered. Consciousness of the close approach of a great struggle in Russia had deepened the sense of responsibility and sobered many an extremist. A year of keen debate had more sharply defined opposing

principles and programs. The more moderate elements in the party had been rallied. For these and other reasons Lenin's faction was now the minority faction. It did not, however, come to be known by the name of "Mensheviki." Admittedly a minority faction, it continued to be called the "Bolshevist" faction and its principles to be called "Bolshevism." The actual majority at the same time continued to be called the "Menshevist" faction and its principles to be called "Menshevism."

This absurd paradox, so characteristically Russian, will be readily understood if it is borne in mind that personalities counted for little in the controversy. It was a conflict over great and fundamental principles and ideas. In the year's debate there had developed quite a literature, and the names, which originally referred to the respective numerical positions of the factions, had become inseparable from certain bodies of theoretical and tactical principles. It is important for the reader to understand this, for it is the key to many puzzles. While Bolshevism etymologically refers to the credo of the majority, in reality it has nothing to do with the conception of a majority position, either in party or state. It refers solely to a certain body of revolutionary Socialist principles and doctrines.

Lenin had already formulated this body of revolu-

tionary theory in terms which quite clearly show that even then he had developed the program which he has since followed, in all its main essentials. The Bolsheviki repudiated the concept of democracy which had always been held to be a fundamental concept of Socialism. Lenin proclaimed that it was absurd to apply to Russia the doctrine that the support of the majority of the people must be secured. A militant and relentless minority should be always expressing the revolutionary spirit, regardless of the fact that success seems, and perhaps is, impossible. Revolutionary agitation is always a success in itself, no matter what the outcome. The revolutionary minority must, in particular take advantage of every difficult and critical moment and situation in which the Government may find itself to instigate revolutionary outbreaks. The revolutionary minority must resolutely cast aside the concept of respect for legality. Revolution is its own law. Whenever possible, the revolutionary minority must seize the powers of government, no matter whether by violence or stealth, and, having secured possession of those powers use them without scruples, to consolidate its position and its power.

In Russia, as in other lands, the aim must be to set up the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." The fact that in Russia the proletariat, the industrial wage-

workers, was an insignificant part of the population, simply meant that it was necessary to influence fewer minds to take the first daring steps, and to use the forces of government thus seized with greater severity. The revolutionary minority must everywhere disavow the ideas and ideals of nationality. It was the duty of a revolutionary Socialist, no matter to what country he might belong, to do all in his power to foment revolutionary uprisings in all countries. By the same token, it was the duty of the proletarian dictatorship when set up in any country to use its position to stir up world-wide revolution. The Russian Revolution, in particular, must be made the agency for bringing about international revolution. For only upon the basis of an international revolution could Russia long maintain itself as a Socialist nation.

Such, then, was the credo of Bolshevism as formulated by its intellectual leader and master mind. In it will be found the germ of every phase of the policy which he and his associates have pursued since they seized the powers of the State in Russia and overthrew the promising effort to establish the most democratic government that any great nation has had in modern times. In this program will be found the mental processes back of the Nov. 7th *coup d' etat;* of the frightful terrorism by which they established themselves, of the bitter and relentless manner in which

they have suppressed all critics; and, finally, of their international policy.

The peculiar mentality of Lenin was no secret to those familiar with the history of the Russian revolutionary movement. It had been revealed quite clearly by the controversies of 1903-1904. Any one who will take the trouble to read his writings of those early days, and compare them with his writings and speeches as head of the Soviet regime in Russia, will be able to see how the man of State has simply been applying the ideas and the formulae of the Bolshevist agitator.

Popular opinion to the contrary, Lenin was not a great scholar. He never was remarkable for scholarship. A close scrutiny of his writings and speeches will reveal extraordinary limitations in this respect. There is none of the flavor of wide and varied learning. Occasionally there is a reference, an allusion, or a citation such as might suggest scholarship, but it is almost invariably suggestive of mere pedantry. He was a ready thinker, but he was neither profound nor original. He wrote a score or more of books, all of them clever, some of them exceedingly so, but in them all there is not a sign of originality or of that profound penetration to the heart of things which marks the philosopher. A specious dialectician, master of every trick of sophistry, indefatigable in industry—Lenin was all these, but he was not the powerful intellectual figure that he has been represented to be.

While utterly without scruple politically, he was personally a man of exemplary habits and character. Like all great and successful leaders, he commanded the warm and lasting attachment of others. Without underrating his intellectual gifts, it may be said with confidence that his leadership rested upon character, to a greater extent than upon intellectual power. His intellectual gifts were indeed remarkable, within the limitations already described. But his place in history will not be among the world's great and profound thinkers.

V

We now have something like an explanatory diagram by means of which we are in a position to understand the sequence of events—the policy of the Bolsheviki during the first period of the Revolution, their attitude toward the Provisional Government, their successful conspiracy and *coup d' etat,* the regime they established and its strangely novel and complicated structure and policies. On the day after his arrival in Petrograd, April 17, Lenin issued a statement of his personal views which was practically a manifesto to his followers. In that statement he insisted that "no concessions, not even the smallest ones, to revolutionary defencism are possible, because war remains predatory and imperialistic owing to the capitalistic

character of the Government." It was quite clear that the Bolshevist policy was to aim at two objectives, the end of the war so far as Russia was concerned—whether by Russia's defeat or her withdrawal was immaterial—and the overthrow of the "capitalistic" Provisional Government. This latter meant, of course, that they hoped to seize the reins and themselves become masters of the situation. Quickly, Lenin gathered around himself all who were ready to adhere to that policy.

On May 17, just one month after his arrival upon the scene, Lenin was joined by that other remarkable man whose name has become inseparably linked with his. Leon Trotzky, as he chooses to be known in preference to Leon Braunstein, his real name, was born in the Government of Kherson, in 1877, son of Jewish parents of fairly prosperous estate. His father was a merchant of moderate wealth. By the time he was twenty-two years old Trotzky was an active revolutionist. In 1900 he was arrested at Warsaw for his Socialist activities and sentenced to solitary confinement in prison. In 1902 he was exiled to Siberia for four years, but escaped before his term was finished, and, after spending some time abroad, reappeared in Russia and took an active part in the Revolution of 1905. He showed, even then, a remarkable capacity for organization and was made

President of the Workmen's Soviet at St. Petersburg (later Petrograd).

Although he was an ardent Social Democrat, he had refused to identify himself with either the Bolshevist or the Menshevist faction. He regarded himself as the one man in the party who could unite the two factions, and made many ambitious efforts to that end. His personal views were those of the extreme Left, so that he shared most of Lenin's theoretical and tactical ideas and convictions. At the end of the Revolution of 1905 he was arrested and spent a year in prison. Then he was tried and sentenced to life-exile in northern Siberia. In 1907 he escaped and until the outbreak of the World War in 1914 lived in Vienna, working at journalism. Then he moved on to Paris, working until 1916 for a Socialist paper published in the Russian language.

Expelled from France, for his advocacy of "defeatist" views, he sought to enter Switzerland, but was refused admission. Going to Spain he was once more arrested and imprisoned for a short time. Released at the end of 1916, he set sail with his family for New York, where he arrived early in January, 1917. As soon as the news of the Revolution came in March, he began to make arrangements to leave for Russia. Having openly declared what his intentions were, he was arrested by the British authorities at

Halifax, and, after the most violent and hysterical protest and resistance, was taken from the ship and interned for a month in a camp for war prisoners. There is irony in the fact that his release by the British, against their own officials' reports and recommendations, was at the request of the Kerensky Government, which Trotzky was determined to destroy!

Lenin and Trotzky have had many disputes, and the former has on more than one occasion rather contemptuously derided his colleague's indulgence in florid rhetoric. Nevertheless, in many respects Trotzky is the abler man of the two. Like Lenin, he is a clever dialectician and a dexterous debater rather than a profound thinker. He is a man of more varied and riper scholarship than Lenin, but he lacks the moral simplicity and integrity of his colleague. Men may and will follow him and acknowledge his leadership, but they will not hold him in affection as they hold Lenin. He is inclined to be pompous and arrogant, and is not above the suspicion of nuturing personal ambitions. Yet it is probably true that he has done far more than Lenin to make the Soviet regime what it is, to keep it alive and to make it a power regarded with respect. Where Lenin would have gone on spinning out interminable "these," Trotzky has grasped the basic problems of actual organization. Where Lenin would have gone on debat-

ing, endlessly debating while in actual life chaos increased, Trotzky has debated and organized.

When Trotzky joined Lenin in May, 1917, there was perfect accord between the two upon fundamentals. But Trotzky saw more clearly than Lenin the practical forms in which their ideas would have to be expressed. Like Lenin, he had started as an orthodox Marxist, believing that Russia must go through an extensive capitalist development before Socialism would become a possibility. The Revolution of 1905 caused him to change his view in this particular. He reached the belief that it was quite possible for Russia to jump from absolutism to Socialism in a single bound, provided there was the leadership intelligently and courageously to grasp and direct circumstances.

He contended that the Russian bourgeoisie was not a growing class, rising to power to succeed the class that had ruled, the bureaucracy, but a decadent class, sinking with the bureaucracy. Therefore, instead of a period of bourgeois rule preceding rule by the proletariat, the latter class must come into immediate power, however ill-prepared. There must be some compromise with the peasants, with their agrarian program, which he regarded as essentially reactionary. They must be placated so that they would acquiesce in a dictatorship by the extremely small proletarian class. Let the peasants, therefore, be encouraged to

take the land in their own way, which the Marxists had always denounced as reactionary. That would leave the proletariat free to consolidate their grip upon the State power. Such was the Lenin-Trotzky creed and program.

To the soldiers at the front the Bolsheviki preached defeatism, mass surrender, fraternization with the enemy soldiers. Publicly they urged the Provisional Government to make peace. They indignantly denied that they were advocating a "separate peace with Germany," which at that time would still have roused a storm of antagonism, but they urged peace in such a manner as could leave no doubt that separate peace would result. Among the peasants they urged that now was the time to seize the land; that it was dangerous folly to wait for the Constituent Assembly and the scheme of land apportionment.

There was a Soviet of workmen's, soldiers' and peasants' representatives, which was cooperating with the Provisional Government. Its existence complicated the task of the latter. The old evil of frictions due to divided counsel, and of overlapping and conflicting authority, was its inevitable contribution. Lenin and Trotzky and their followers raised the cry that all power must be given to the Soviets, that is, to the central Soviet and the local and shop Soviets affiliated with it. The Provisional Government was

"capitalistic." That it had a Socialist at its head and that other influential posts in it were held by Socialists, that it had adopted a program of pure democracy, mattered nothing. It was "capitalistic" and would betray the Revolution. The Soviets were working-class bodies and could be trusted. Upon this they rang the changes, day after day, week after week. In June, when the Provisional Government, with the expressed approval of the Soviets and other organizations of soldiers and workmen, ordered an offensive to be launched, the Bolsheviki were bitter in their denunciations. They preached defeatism among the soldiers and sabotage in the factories. A stronger military Government would have sent most of them to face firing squads.

The Provisional Government was fully aware of the nature of the Bolshevist propaganda. The leaders of the latter had tried to get control of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Soviet, but failed. Then they proceeded to discredit it. They hatched a plot to arrest the members of the Provisional Government on the 24th of June, while the attention of everybody was centered upon the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which would then be in session. All the troops were to be withdrawn from the trenches at once, without any negotiations or delay. The plot was discovered and revealed. The Bolshevist leaders—Lenin and Trotzky among the

number—apologized and promised to abandon all such attempts.

On July 1st, the great offensive was launched and it began to appear that Kerensky had performed the miracle of restoring the morale of the Russian army. Then came the results of the Bolshevist propaganda. Regiment after regiment refused to obey orders. Officers were murdered by their troops, over a front one hundred and fifty miles long the Germans advanced, unmolested, while the Russians, whose numbers were far greater, steadily and sullenly retreated. In the midst of this crisis, on July 17, the Bolsheviki tried to seize the reins of Government. There was fighting in the streets of Petrograd for two days and more than five hundred men, women and children lost their lives. Even after this, as we have already noted, the measures taken against the Bolsheviki were exceedingly mild.

From that time to the fateful seventh of November the heroic, but in some respects pathetically weak and futile Kerensky, and his associates fought desperately to preserve the Revolution as a great democratic gain, but they fought a losing fight against overwhelming odds. War weariness, and exhaustion, treason and treachery, bewilderment of the masses, lack of a powerful and resourceful bourgeoisie, inadequate and pitifully weak leadership—these were the elements of the problem.

Even now we are too close to the scene of turmoil and confusion to make possible judgments of more than tentative value concerning the work of Kerensky and his associates in the Provisional Government. Sometimes Kerensky looms up like a figure of heroic mould. Then the picture changes and we see him as a weakling who reminds us of Bismarck's description of Lord Salisbury as "a lath of wood painted to look like iron." Had Kerensky something of that decisive force and iron sternness which Trotzky has shown in his military direction of the Soviet regime, would the result have been otherwise? To that and similar questions posterity will reply with greater certitude than we can.

What is certain is that day by day the Revolution drifted to the fate that overcame it. Preparations for the elections to the Constituent Assembly went on. A Pre-Parliament, the most representative democratic body that Russia had ever known, met week after week and debated and decided and then debated again. But there seemed to be no strong purpose, nor any daring resourcefulness except on the part of the Bolsheviki.

By October it was evident that the Bolsheviki had greatly increased their strength, and that the other elements and parties which had supported the Provisional Government had lost a not inconsiderable part

of their following. In the election of delegates to the Congress of Soviets, which was to open on November 7, the Bolsheviki had, for the first time, obtained an apparent majority. They had announced in their press that the opening of the Congress would be the signal for an armed uprising; it was charged that they had prevented the holding of elections in many places, that they had intimidated voters, that they had, in many instances, put forward their nominees as anti-Bolsheviks and so secured their election by fraud. But whatever the truth concerning these charges, the fact remains that they had an apparent majority in the Congress.

On the night of November 6, the *coup d' etat* took place. Almost without bloodshed, the Provisional Government was overthrown. The Bolsheviki had organized its supporters as Red Guards, and placed these, under military leadership, at strategic points. They occupied the principal government buildings, the telegraph and telephone offices. Part of the Petrograd garrison turned out and supported the Bolsheviki, the other part simply looking on and refusing to participate at all. On the morning of November 7 the members of the Provisional Government were arrested, Kerensky, however, escaping. The Bolsheviki had not met the resistance upon which they had reckoned. A new Government was formed, with Lenin

as President and Trotzky as Foreign Minister. The Soviet regime had begun. Bolshevism was in the saddle in one of the greatest nations in the world.

VI

There was probably not a statesman in Europe, or anywhere in the world for that matter, who believed on November 8, 1917, that the new Russian Government, called the Council of People's Commissaries, which had been proclaimed the day before, could last beyond the end of the year. Its own most influential members were scarcely more optimistic. An American who saw Lenin frequently in those days and enjoyed his confidence has reported that he often referred to the Paris Commune in terms which suggested that he looked upon the Soviet regime as an episode of the same kind. The Paris Commune lasted seventy days. "In (so and so many) days we shall have lasted as long as the Commune," Lenin would say. When the Soviet regime had lasted seventy days he exclaimed. "We have equalled the Commune." After that he often observed "This is the .... day. We have survived longer than the Commune!"

There is an abundance of authoritative evidence to show that the Soviet leaders did not regard themselves as being called upon to establish anything like a permanent State. Numerous utterances by Lenin,

Trotzky, and others, show that they thought of their task as being much simpler, namely, just to hold things together in Russia for a few short weeks until the general European revolution could take place. "Russia is very backward industrially, and of all the important countries of Europe it is the least prepared for Socialism," Lenin told his followers. "If we depended upon ourselves alone, and undertook to build a Socialist State upon the existing economic and cultural basis of Russia, our situation would be quite hopeless. As it is, we have quite another task. Our problem is simply to hold on for a short time, perhaps only a few weeks, but at most only a few months, until the inevitable revolution throughout Europe and America presents to the entire proletariat of the world the real task of achieving Socialism upon the basis of capitalist civilization, and with all the resources of the latter available for the purpose."

There was no influential leader of the Bolsheviki who took a longer view than this. There was not one who expressed any doubt that the general social revolution was imminent and that it would sweep all Europe. Their Marxist philosophy had prepared the way for this attitude of mind by teaching them to look for, and to depend upon, a great cataclysm. A catastrophic break-up of capitalist civilization, and the emergence of Socialism through the conscious will

and purpose of the triumphant proletariat, was almost universally accepted as part of the quintessence of Marxism. Now it was impossible for these Russian followers of Marx to doubt that war weariness, exhaustion, economic bankruptcy, and shattered institutions and social relations of long standing, would result in revolution in every land. The whole fabric was already trembling. The decisive moment of revolution was at hand.

The Bolshevist leaders, notwithstanding that they had seized the governmental powers, and thus placed themselves at the head of a great State, hardly thought at all of the immense task of social reorganization immediately confronting them. For them it was not a national problem. It was not a problem for Russia, but for civilization. Its solution would have to be undertaken internationally.

The non-Communist may fail to see how this would have helped matters. On the other hand, it is not hard to comprehend the Bolshevist point of view, once we have made allowance for the tendency of Utopian visionaries to reduce complex and intricate problems to an alluring simplicity. Russia lacked machinery and manufactured goods, due to her industrial backwardness. She also lacked the means of producing those things. As a country possessed and governed by the revolutionary proletariat, committed

to the overthrow of capitalism, Russia could hardly be regarded as likely to get her wants supplied by capitalist controlled countries. But if the revolution, instead of being Russian and national in its scope, became international, so that revolutionary Russia was part of a great revolutionary whole, then for the good of the whole the entire resources of the whole would be available. National boundaries would cease to have important political significance. They would be of little more than historic interest. The surplus manufactured goods of such countries as Germany, England, and the United States, as well as the services of their technicians, would be as available for Russia as for themselves. Call that an idle dream if you will, but do not fair to remember that if it was the basis of their plans.

A "make-shift-for-the-time-being" psychology dominated the struggle of the Bolshevist leaders against the Kerensky regime, and continued to dominate them for some time after the *coup d' etat.* Had they thought of their impending task as requiring them to establish a permanent State, and to reorganize the national economic life, they never would have been foolish enough to create such tremendous difficulties for themselves, as when they preached insubordination among the soldiers, systematic sabotage and malingering among the factory workers, and the seizure of lands

by voluntary groups of peasants without regard to the carefully devised plans based upon systematic expert study.

A man who knows that he is about to inherit an estate does not, if he is intelligent, proceed to wreck its very basis, beforehand, in order that he may hasten the coming of the heritage. And surely none but men who believed that nothing that was done at the moment could matter, that it was only an interlude during which they could mark time while waiting for the other parts of the general revolution to develop, would have been capable of supposing that the management and control of industry by Soviets, in the then prevailing stage of industrial development, could produce anything short of disaster.

It is only when we pay proper regard to this period during which the "makeshift psychology" prevailed, and observe the Bolsheviki waiting for developments which never took place, for material and moral reinforcements which never appeared, that we can get anything like a proper perspective on the events of the first year or two.

One of the strongest weapons they had used against the Provisional Government under Kerensky was the charge—wholly unfounded in fact—that it was not acting in good faith with respect to the Constituent Assembly; that the convocation of this important body,

and the election of delegates to it, had been deliberately delayed in order to cheat the people of the right to determine for themselves the kind of constitution, and the measure of political rights, they would have. The Bolshevist leaders posing as the friends of the Constituent Assembly, were alarmed at its peril. They rallied peasants and workmen under their leadership upon the plea that it was necessary to save the Constituent Assembly.

When they seized power and overturned the Kerensky Provisional Government, the elections for the Constituent Assembly had already begun. A good many delegates, though a small part of the whole number, had been elected. In other places, the campaign was on. The Bolshevist party had its candidates in the field and the suffrage was equal, universal, direct. When the greater part of the elections took place the Bolsheviki were already in control of the State. In the end it was found that the candidates of the Bolshevist party were in a minority among those elected; the majority belonging to other parties. Eighteen million ballots had been cast, and the verdict was overwhelmingly against the Bolsheviki. When the Constituent Assembly met, on January 5, 1918, the Bolshevist members attended, but bolted when they could not control the body. Then the Red

Guards, by orders of the Soviet Government, dispersed the Constituent Assembly at the point of the bayonet.

Thus, in power, the Bolsheviki turned directly away from the position they had taken when they were seeking that power. They went back upon their pledges and promises, explicit and implicit. The next step was the arbitrary adoption, by a small, select, non-representative body, of the famous Constitution of the Soviet Republic. That much discussed document need not detain us longer than is necessary to note some features of it which clearly show how far the Soviet rulers in power receded from the democracy of the Constituent Assembly of which they had posed as the special champions, features which are singular among all the varied instruments of constitutional government. It confined the right to vote to certain exceedingly limited classes. Industrial workers—wage-earners—provided they were engaged on work "productive and useful to society;" teachers and educators, if in the employ of the Government; peasants who owned no land or but little or worked for peasants or other employers for hire; all wage-earners engaged in the public service as employees of the State, subdivisions of the State, or public corporations under the direction of the State; wives and others engaged in keeping the homes of the foregoing, enabling them to work, but not if they employed help; and the

"soldiers of the army and navy"—apparently intended to apply to all up to a certain official rank.

The peasant—and we must always mentally translate this into our American equivalent, "farmer"—who employed as much as a single hand to help was not permitted to vote. No minister of the gospel was entitled to vote. No professional person, such as a doctor, dentist, architect, or lawyer, who employed as much as a single stenographer, or an office clerk, could vote. The keeper of a public garage; the petty contractor; the small shopkeeper—these and many other occupational groups were altogether excluded. This constitution excluded from the franchise perhaps as many as sixty-five or seventy per cent of the peasants, taking the most moderate estimates. It disfranchised that part of the farming class of that great farming nation which was most vitally important, the most intelligent, prosperous and successful. It enfranchised that part of the farming class that was least important, the unsuccessful ones, the wrecks and failures, the shiftless.

Freedom of speech and assemblage, and the freedom of the press, which the Bolsheviki, like all other Socialists, had invariably championed in the past, were entirely swept away. No party other than the Bolshevist party could legally exist. The only press permitted was the press of the Soviet Government and its departments and the press of the Bolshevist

party. To the latter, be it noted, subscription was not optional, but obligatory. In other words, it was a forced assessment or tax, for non-payment of which sharp punishment was the rule.

Under the constitution, there was one representative for every 125 soldiers, one for every 1000 factory workers and two for every Volost, or union of peasants' villages. A Volost rarely had less than 15,000 inhabitants and sometimes as many as 100,000. In other words, even the votes of those farmers who were permitted to vote, were subject to a great discount, one farmer's vote being equal to one-eightieth of a soldier's vote and one tenth of an industrial worker's vote.

Election to the Soviet Government, that is to the supreme body, was not direct, but indirect. Power descended to the voters through a most complicated hierarchy. No modern constitutional government is as far removed from direct election by and responsibility to the people. Whenever it has suited their purpose, this constitution has been abrogated, or suspended, as to its fundamental provisions no less than to minor ones. Taking the period as a whole, by arbitrary action, the actual political system has, under pressure, been broadened beyond the instrument. But at times for considerable periods, rigid enforcement has prevailed.

When we turn from the political life to the economic, we find quite similar contradictions of every principle that the Bolsheviki had ever avowed, contradictions, likewise, between successive phases of the regime, indicating in part a healthy and commendable opportunism, a readiness to subordinate theories to the facts of experience, and in part the complete failure of Bolshevist theories when submitted to the acid test of practical application.

During the agitation against the Kerensky Provisional Government the Bolsheviki had used the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" as a means of rallying the discontented to their side. They had demanded that in the factories, for example, all authority of every kind be given to the Soviets, the Soviets of the individual factories being represented in the central Soviet of the city or town. The central Soviet would determine the regulations for the industrial workers of the city or town, the divisional soviets would regulate the occupational groups within the limitations prescribed as above, and the shop or factory soviet would regulate the individual establishment within the limitations provided as already described.

Already, under the Kerensky regime, by reason of submission to this fantastic plan, production had declined at an alarming pace. Any worker in a factory

who felt like it could give a signal for all hands to stop in order that some subject he was interested in might be discussed. Foremen were generally abolished, their functions assumed by committees of employees. If a man at a lathe had to be given instructions, for example, a committee representing every branch of the employees had to wait upon him for that purpose; to discharge a girl at a loom, a meeting of the factory soviet must be had, and so on through a long list of absurdities.

They made themselves responsible for the policy of "all power to the Soviets," and the corollary policy tersely summed up in the phrase "Down with the Bourgeoisie!"—which in practice meant driving out the skilled managers, technical directors and others upon whose specialized functional abilities so much depended. In no country in the world could such a system have produced anything but disaster. In Russia, with its special limitations due to industrial backwardness, the disaster was greater, as well as swifter in coming.

At the outset we see the Soviet regime remorsely persecuting the bourgeois elements that were indispensable to the existence of the national life, driving out the men whose knowledge and experience alone could save the State. The brutal ferocity with which this policy was pursued is almost beyond imagination

or relief. The Terror of the French Revolution was almost a child's play by comparison. Then, menaced by complete starvation, we see the Soviet regime bringing back the survivors of the class it had nearly exterminated. We see the principles of personal authority re-introduced in the industrial system, and even carried to an extreme unknown elsewhere in the world; industrial absolutism unmitigated by any of those forces which play so large a part in countries where progressive legislation, trades unions, and democratic ideals are factors.

The eight hour workday gave place to a day of ten hours. Overtime, which had been done away with, was made compulsory. Piecework, which had been declared abolished forever, was re-established. The strictest system of "scientific management" was introduced, though applied without any great amount of intelligence. Even conscription, usually confined to military service, was made to apply to industrial service also. In a word, industry under the Soviet State swung from excessive and self-destroying freedom to a form of servitude unparalleled in any nation in modern times.

And yet production in every department of industry lagged far behind the pre-revolutionary standards and the standards of capitalist industrial enterprise. The demoralization, which the Bolshevist leaders had

greatly aided in creating, was not easy to overcome. In addition to the incompetence—which was inevitable so long as men were placed in directing and managing posts simply because they were dependable Communists as the Bolsheviki came to be called—there was an astonishing amount of corruption.

Moreover, the system itself produced a crushing bureaucracy. The army of Government officials grew apace. Bureaus without number, each with its horde of officials, presented an enormous problem. Men who remembered the old regime and its reputation for bureaucracy saw that under the Soviet regime there had developed a bureaucratic class many, many times more numerous. In certain lines private industrial enterprise was permitted, grudgingly at first, and hampered at every turn. As the economic disaster grew in magnitude and menace, this private industrial enterprise was definitely encouraged, to be again discouraged and hampered whenever an improvement in the general economic condition lessened the pressure upon the Communist theorists in whose hands the governmental authority rested. Always the pendulum swung between realism and romance.

From the first there was a great deal of illicit private trade and speculation. Strictly forbidden by law, this private trading and speculation came to have a fairly definite status, which might be compared to

the liquor traffic in "wet areas" in this country. As a general rule, it was overlooked and tolerated by officials charged with its suppression. There were periods of rigorous enforcement when private trade and speculation disappeared, but more often it went on without serious molestation.

Naturally and inevitably, an elaborate system of organized corruption developed. Conniving officials became the backbone of an illicit business which attained an amazing growth.

Stringent food regulations, for example, set prices at which the peasants in the villages must sell their products to the Soviet authorities, from whom in turn the public were to receive food rations at fixed prices. The peasants refused to give up their products on such terms, and the Soviet authorities could not supply the public. But the smuggling of food into the cities by private speculators went on, and those who possessed the means to pay for it could always get food. The authorized agency might not be able to supply the mass of the people with the meagre rations allotted, but in the "Thieves' Market" it was possible to get food in relative abundance and variety.

This illicit system which flouted the law and set it at naught, had the effect, nevertheless, of strengthening the regime, or at least of helping it to retain power. It operated in much the same way as in some

of our States—a lax enforcement of the prohibition laws—and frequently helped to maintain prohibition as the nominal and legal system. So extensive did this private trading, smuggling and speculation become, that the Soviet officials and the Soviet press repeatedly acknowledged that a new bourgeoisie had arisen, a class of newly-rich composed of food profiteers, smugglers and corrupt officials whose incomes from bribes multiplied their salaries many times over. There was as much inequality of wealth as ever; the basis of division was not changed, merely the beneficiaries.

Gradually, by a very hesitant and uncertain course, attended by various desperate advances and fearful recessions, important concessions to private trade were authorized and given legal status. The "return to capitalism" was widely heralded. As a matter of fact, there was no "return to capitalism" in the real sense of that phrase. There were many concessions to private property, to individualism and to capitalist methods and principles. There were concessions forced from the regime by the stern requirements of life and the majesty of inexorable economic laws.

The same thing appears in the desperate efforts made to restore foreign trade. Having confiscated the properties of foreign capitalists along with those

of Russian capitalists, the Soviet authorities were forced at last to prostrate themselves before the capitalists and governments of nation after nation, seeking to make trade agreements upon almost any terms. They offered to give to foreign capitalists concessions of almost fabulous value, upon terms which promised such profits as capitalist promoters dream of far oftener than they realize them.

The curious anomaly was presented of a great governmental power having despoiled its own capitalists, attempting to replace them by foreign capitalists belonging to powerful nations. In part their efforts were sincere. They aimed at the restoration of Russia's foreign trade, at almost any price, as the essential condition of existence. In part, however, their efforts were clearly dictated by other and less admirable motives. They were intriguing to promote international friction among the great nations, notably Japan and the United States, as Lenin himself admitted during the negotiations over vast concessions offered to an American syndicate headed by a Mr. Washington Vanderlip.

Moreover, the Soviet leaders, including Lenin, avowed that they were offering these concessions in the hope of being thereby enabled to tide over a crisis and to hold on until revolution should break out in Europe and America. Thus there was lacking the

good faith upon which alone foreign capital could give credit to Russia or reasonably embark upon Russian enterprise.

When we turn from industry to agriculture we find the same zig-zag course between futile attempts to establish communism and grudging acceptance of its opposites, private property and individual trading. Having encouraged the peasants to seize the lands of the estates surrounding them in riotous and disorderly fashion, without the careful and scientifically prepared plans of the expert commissions established by the Provisional Government, they had brought about a terrible condition, far worse than the old. Strong villages had seized the communal lands of weaker villages and reduced their inhabitants to beggary. Peasants who already owned as much land as they could use, but who were vigorous and daring, took lands which ought to have gone to peasants who possessed too little land to make a living. The great landed estates, which had maintained the agricultural experiment stations of the country, were despoiled and their machinery destroyed. The best breeding animals in the country were taken away and killed.

When the Bolsheviki seized power they became possessed of a gigantic ruin. They declared the land to be national property and tried to organize agriculture upon communistic lines. In most cases the

peasants rebelled, and the Soviet authorities were unable to cope with their opposition. In certain areas the land came into the possession of the Soviet authorities, and efforts were made to carry on production by government officials and agencies. These farms, instead of helping the food supply of the cities, failed to produce enough to support the workers and officials engaged on them, and the armed forces necessary for their protection against the outraged peasantry. They had actually to be supplied with food requisitioned from individual peasants.

To supply the food needed in the cities, it was found necessary to decree that the peasants themselves should be permitted to reserve no more than a certain per capita allowance from their produce, and that all the rest should be turned over to the Soviet authorities at a fixed price. This price was in currency that was practically worthless, for it did not enable the peasant to purchase the manufactured goods he needed. For these he must deal with the private smugglers and traders. Of course, the peasants resisted. They concealed their stores and made false returns, where they did not openly defy and resist the authorities.

This brought about the sending of armed detachments of trusted troops from the cities to search the villages and seize the stores so concealed and with-

held. Armed conflicts between city and village, between the Government and that part of the population of greatest importance to the national life became general. It was, as Maxim Gorky well said, "a condition of civil war." When the peasants found that they were unable to overcome the troops, or that to do so involved too much suffering, they changed their tactics. They adopted an attitude of passivity. They simply refused to raise more crops than would furnish the minimum they were permitted to keep for their own use. If the peasant could have only so many poods of potatoes for his family, why, then he would raise as little more than that as possible. This was the prime cause of the great famine of 1921-1922, the worst in Russian history, when the United States evidenced its traditional friendship for the people of Russia by coming to the rescue with immense contributions of food.

The Soviet regime was compelled to surrender to the peasants and to legalize private property in land —under guise of legalizing "possession and use" only, with provision for inheritance. It was compelled, too, to legalize the right of the peasants to possess whatever they could produce and to sell it wherever they pleased, upon the best terms they could get. The peasant with his instinct for property and individualism proved to be the real master of Russia.

Here, then, is an outline sketch of the struggle between two conflicting systems, two sets of ideals which are irreconcilably opposed. The struggle is not yet ended. The Soviet regime is still strongly entrenched in power. It still possesses the great instrumentalities of government. It has built up an enormous force consisting of people who are dependent upon it for a living. There is no considerable, competent middle class other than that newly created class whose interest is the continuance of the present regime—profiteers, speculators, innumerable officials, and so on. The peasant, so long as he is left in possession of the land and is permitted to acquire wealth through his industry, is content to leave the Soviet regime unchallenged. Always there is the fear in his heart, which Soviet propagandists do their utmost to intensify, that the overthrow of the regime would mean a revision of the land titles, restoration to old owners in many cases, an attempt at fairer distribution in others. So it has come to pass that the most powerful and capable elements among the peasantry have made truce with the regime—a truce that will be disposed to keep as long as the Soviets keep faith with them.

The end is not yet. Forecasting the outcome is hazardous at best. All that can be said with certitude is that Russia seems, at the beginning of 1924, to be

progressing toward economic recovery, in some respects more rapidly than other important European nations. In every instance, that process of recovery is due to, and wholly dependent upon, the relegation of Communism to the background and its replacement by individualism and private property with their incentives to industry and thrift.

It would appear, therefore, that Russia is being irresistibly carried toward the complete abandonment of Communism, and toward reunion with the rest of civilization. For the people of America this consummation is devoutly to be wished. Our national policy is based upon ideals of peace, not upon war and conquest. Russia, a great democratic nation (for the restoration of monarchy is not at all likely) will, of necessity, adhere to the same great ideals of international peace and cooperation. We have always maintained friendship and admiration for the Russian people, and a democratic, peace-loving and peace-serving Russia would assist in the realization of the ideals to which we are committed. When Russia finally abandons the communistic experiment, as she seems destined to do, we shall welcome her as a great partner in the task of rebuilding the war-shattered world.

WILLIAM II

1859–

MODERN AUTOCRACY

WILLIAM II

MODERN AUTOCRACY

By POULTNEY BIGELOW

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CHAPTER I

A GREAT American Captain of Industry is credited with saying: "All history is bunk!" I do not know what "bunk" means, but it was obviously not used in a complimentary sense and for my part I do not believe it was ever said unless the great manufacturer meant that all things are "bunk"—Ford cars—all accessories to the vanity denounced in the Christian bible.

History helps humanity to go forward by the light of past misfortunes. The child listens to the tales of his parents and in turn transmits his own experience to the fruit of his marriage. That is History. Nations prosper when guided by those who know the past and great Empires have rotted and collapsed through the leadership of men whose momentary popularity led them to despise the ways of their fathers

in order to achieve the dangerous glory that "leads but to the grave" or Amerongen!

William II achieved an almost unlimited popularity and power in Germany because he knew his country, its resources, its leading people and its history. He was through and through a Prussian and a Hohenzollern. The traditions of autocracy were bone of his bone—he lived and breathed in the spirit of his grandfather the venerable William I and even more in that of the Great Frederic.

Autocracy like alcohol is good or bad according to him who wields the scepter or the drug. The Prussian autocrats have in the past three centuries given to us examples of hard working and very intelligent public servants who have left their country better than they found it; who have led as a rule exemplary domestic lives; who have shown religious tolerance in days when their brother autocrats roasted heretical subjects and who fostered education when other states regarded ignorance as the mother of true piety. Autocracy in Prussia has been tempered by parliamentary forms and a written constitution; but the spirit of the people is monarchical and the Kings of Prussia accept their crown only from the hand of God. No papal or parliamentary delegate comes between a Hohenzollern and the source of his power. He stalks in full soldier dress to the altar and with

his own hands picks up the emblem of majesty and places it upon his head. Then he draws his long blade from its scabbard and invites the world in general to dispute his title.

These are the outward signs of real government; and they are laughable unless he who stalks to the high altar has at his back the support of his people. And thus we close the circle of autocracy by finding that the autocrat can do little save as he commands the respect if not the love of the masses—the populace, the plebs, the demos. The Prussian autocrat has in the past been fully alive to the loneliness and the danger of his holy estate; he cannot roll off his responsibility upon a parliamentary committee or a council of ministers. It is his own property that he is administering and it is his duty to merit the approval of his "resting-in-God" ancestors and more particularly that of his heirs to the throne. For this reason Prussian princes have ever been trained from childhood in some handicraft by which they might, if need be, earn their living—not forgetting that the first duty of a good man is to fight for his country—and therefor no citizen should be without soldier training.

Frederic the Great was an ideal Monarch as George Washington was an ideal President or Benjamin Franklin an ideal diplomatist. Many mon-

archs have grasped at the title of Great, but in the case of the illustrious Fritz, his rank in history can be but more firmly fixed by the study of his life. He loved peace and hated war. Voltaire was a pacifist by profession; but Frederic enforced what a philosopher could but preach. Frederic had to fight for his Peace, and he drew the sword so soon as he had seized the scepter. He fought with few interruptions from the year of his accession in 1740 to the close of the memorable seven years' war in 1763 when he sheathed his blade and became a farmer, a manufacturer, a road builder, an architect, a political economist. He lived nearly a quarter of a century from the date of Peace; he was head and shoulders the greatest general and the strongest monarch of his time and he was offered many opportunities for still further adding to his military laurels. But he was great in peace no less than war; and having secured the respect of his neighbors he gave all his energy to making the people prosperous and contented. It is little exaggeration to say that when the Great Frederic slept his last sleep in his big arm chair at Sans Souci, Prussia was not merely the most humanely and efficiently governed state of Europe—she offered the great mass of the people better education, a better administration and more personal liberty than in these United States of today.

William II had much of the brilliancy which characterized the Great Frederic, but he commenced his war at the wrong end—he missed the psychological moment. Frederic became King at 28; William Emperor at 29. Frederic was done with fighting at the age of 51, whilst William started the World War when he was 55 and fled into the swamps of Holland a refugee at the age of 60. Frederic fought for tangible results and he contemplated suicide in case of disaster. William fought for the nebulous crown of a world conqueror and has achieved only the fame of that crazy one who fired the Temple of Ephesus.

William II was born on the 27th of January of 1859 and spent his boyhood largely in the so-called *Neŭes Palais* of Sans Souci Park. His father and mother spared no pains in training him for prospective empire and their example alone was worth many school masters. Both parents were highly cultivated and happily married; both inclined to curb the Bismarckian militarism by concession to parliamentary demands; both loved country life and both found time to look after their children, not only when at their books but also when they had playmates for a free half holiday in the park.

My friendship with William II commenced in 1871 and lasted uninterruptedly for twenty-five years, at the end of which I published a book and was never

again invited to that palace. The book was called: *A History of the German Struggle for Liberty* between the Battle of Jena in 1806 and the Revolution of 1848. There were four volumes, each handsomely illustrated; and altho the American publishers became financially embarrassed soon afterwards, I like to think that there were other causes of their failure.

But even without my history, William II must have withdrawn his countenance from one who was then writing in public journals, not as a Hohenzollern historiographer but rather as an American free lance.

In January of 1896 there was a domestic brawl in South Africa which concerned the Transvaal and Queen Victoria. The Kaiser thought that it concerned him also and therefor he cabled to the Boer president words which Queen Victoria read with surprise and her subjects with clenched fists. Of course I assumed that his Prime Minister would resign by way of protest against this rash act; for under the Imperial Constitution the autograph of the Kaiser has no validity unless countersigned by his chief minister, who then was Prince Hohenlohe. But no protest was made by any minister; nor was anyone dismissed. All Europe was momentarily alarmed as though a general war were imminent; but England mobilized her fleet; the German foreign office made some clumsy explanations; the newspapers passed on

to other news and only the initiated realized that the Kaiser meant from now on to speak not merely for Germany but for the whole of Europe.

This January of 1896 may be taken as the moment when the Kaiser lost his balance; when the example of the Great Frederic ceased to influence him and when he succumbed to a disease called megalomania.

But he was to me only a sincere lover of Peace; an eager student in every department of human science; an admirer of England; a conscientious public servant after the pattern of the great sage of Sans Souci.

In 1888 he became Emperor, and each year I was his guest for every one of his corps inspections; which meant visiting each province of the Empire and seeing the country at first hand; for we were in the saddle and riding across country from before sunrise until close of day. He gave me many occasions for conversation and could listen as well as talk. His reading was extensive and his memory magnificent; he knew personally every important person in every town of Germany and those who deal in politics know how much that means in the making of popularity.

One day when on horseback near him, he called my attention to the venerable Field Marshal von Blumenthal, then upwards of 80 years of age. It was a raw, sleety and windy day in September, but the old general wore no overcoat. The Emperor sent

an aide de camp to beg von Blumenthal to don his great coat, but the answer came back that he felt very comfortable.

At this the Emperor proceeded to put on his own warm cloak, saying to me: "I must do it—otherwise the old general will get a chill on my account!" Of course, so soon as Blumenthal saw the Emperor cover himself he lost no time in following suit—as did the rest of his suite. Endless were the tales I heard of the Kaiser's thoughtfulness for others; and interest in anything that meant a betterment of social conditions. He frequently asked me about problems of government in England and America—and expressed himself with severity regarding the worldly life of his uncle the late Edward VII and the apparently harmful effect of his example upon an aristocracy much given to mere amusement. He was deeply religious and regarded the building of churches as a very essential part of his political work.

These pages are necessarily personal, for I pretend to know no more than a witness in court giving evidence regarding one whom the world now is judging as another Genseric.

In his home life William was a model husband and father. He was married so soon as he came of age; and whilst scores of professional dancers and singers claimed through their press agents that they had en-

joyed in Berlin more than platonic handling in the Palace, the prosaic truth is that we can find no substance for these pleasing dreams. He loved his wife and home after the most approved puritan pattern and marvelled that his anacreontic uncle could preserve his popularity in the land of Queen Victoria. The Kaiser smoked very little; drank light wine moderately; was up and at work amongst the earliest in his Capital and took regular out-door exercise. He had no fear for his life. Any one could have shot him as he rode on horseback the whole length of the broad Linden Avenue, under the Brandenburg Arch of Triumph and so on through the great park. All the world knew the hour of his ride and the route. No secret service men accompanied him as they do our Presidents; his two equerries rode far behind out of ear shot and could not have saved him had a furibund Guiteau or Czolgosz attacked him with a pistol or even a knife.

One day he asked me to walk with him from the Neŭes Palais to the so-called Holy Pond and thus to the Havel—about three miles in each direction. It was a drizzly November day and he walked briskly—through the long Sans Souci Avenue and then the whole extent of Potsdam itself. The town was alive with peasants who crowded the sidewalks in eager chaffering or gazing into shop windows. The two

equerries were behind; but so far, that a stranger would not have thought them of our party. The Emperor was then 33 years old, wearing a military grey overcoat and cap and looking much like any one of the hundreds of his age amongst the officers of his garrison. On that whole walk through Potsdam I recall but three civilians who recognized him—on the contrary, we had constantly to turn out into the street in favor of deep chested and vigorously gesticulating women who at that moment were absorbed in settling the price of a kilo of butter and had no eyes for any Kaiser save on a silver coin. We had been commenting on the law governing political assassination, for in those days the royal sport of Muscovy seemed to be one in which the Czar traveled by one train whilst he dispatched the others as decoys for nihilist bombs. I had referred to the unsatisfactory nature of a Russian Emperor's job and the precautions he had to take against attacks upon his person. We were approaching a cellar hole covered by an iron lid and I said: "Now if this were St. Petersburg you would suspect a bomb under that cellar lid." He laughed; walked straight at the supposititious engine of destruction and gave it a resounding bang with his foot. Then turning to me he said seriously: "If I had to think of my life, I could not possibly do my day's work." William II, like Frederic the Great,

was born a very frail thing; and performed his enormous daily task only by the most conscientious control of his appetites and his out-door exercise. He had a very wise medical mentor in the late Dr. Leuthold of blessed memory who doctored in the spirit of "old Fritz" who once wrote to Voltaire: "I have as little faith in doctors of medicine as in those of theology"—another form of an English proverb: "A man at forty is either a fool or his own physician." Dr. Leuthold gave no drugs, but prescribed very strict regimen and enforced it.

Let us now look at the Kaiser politically and search for the explanation of his later policies—those of the mailed fist and the war lord and the jingling of his mighty sword in its loose and far too easily worked scabbard.

He entered the army at the age of ten; was a lieutenant when he entered Bonn University as a duelling corps student and was made a major general at 28. His early life was calculated to stir in him admiration for military achievement; particularly so as the Prussian army was in his eyes idealized in the persons of such grand veterans as Moltke and his contemporaries to whom Germany owed her extraordinary expansion through the three wars of 1864, 1866 and 1870.

As a corps-student he identified himself with young noblemen destined for the army and the higher official posts. These devoted their time largely to carving up each other's features on the fencing floor of their club rooms; and whilst duelling in general is frowned upon by the academic chiefs, it flourishes nevertheless because those in authority feel that youngsters should begin early to familiarize themselves with warlike exercise and the sight of men oozing with blood and losing their footing on the slippery floor. The Kaiser's tastes were for manly sport; and the grandest of all is war. We pay much for a fight where two men strive each to pound the other into pulp. We frequent the dangerous corners at a steeple chase where men and horses kill themselves in the joy of racing. The Romans crowded to the battle of naked men with naked swords—and why should not the next war pay for itself by the rental of grandstand privileges, movie rights, radio broadcasting, even aeroplane rubberneck char-a-bancs for the curious, to whom dollars are no object, and the risk of a stray shot welcome.

William, on coming to the throne, issued two pronunciamentos. The first should have been to his whole people, but he chose to flatter the army first—reserving the tax payers for the less important document. Then he traveled much—ostensibly to make friends amongst his neighbors, but in reality from

youthful curiosity in order to judge them by his own standards. He had a splendid steam yacht and in the first year of his reign paid visits to Russia, Sweden, Denmark and Norway. Next year he sailed the Mediterranean, married his sister to the Crown Prince of Greece, flattered the Pope of Rome by a long call and then made an even longer one on the High Priest of Mahomet in Constantinople. In England he won all hearts by love of sport and the Queen made him Admiral of the Fleet; the Sultan helped him to concessions for the benefit of a German railway; the Pope smoothed out some questions affecting Catholics in Poland and in Russia it looked as though Germany would continue to keep industrial control. Never did sovereign go so far from home and pay so many calls; never did sovereign speak so warmly in favor of Peace nor prepare so feverishly for a war of his own making. In his many journeys far from home he posed as the Prince of Peace—he even entered Jerusalem in a manner suggesting the triumph of Christianity over heathenism. In Morocco he proclaimed himself interested in her happiness to the extent of saving her from French suzerainty; and in the Near East he gave notice that henceforth a Lutheran Prussian and no longer a Republican President in Paris would protect Catholic missionaries in the Far East.

The student of mental metamorphosis or super-psychology may in the Kaiser's career trace a steady movement away from the teachings of his father and mother; away from his very conservative grandfather and above all away from the very wise moderation of his illustrious great great uncle the Philosopher King of Sans Souci. Up to 1896 the Kaiser acted to me as one striving to maintain the Peace of Europe; but the great current of national conceit was more than he could resist or even direct. His ancestors on the throne had been satisfied as Kings of a German speaking and protestant thinking piece of land. They had fought hard to round out this piece of land so as to make it of economic value and of military strength —but no one in the days of my youth was so mad as to dream of a Germany striving to have a mighty army on land and a navy rivalling either England or the United States.

The madness of William II manifested itself when the Kiel Canal opened in 1895 and when his navy commenced its career as an aggressive engine of colonial expansion rather than as an instrument of home defense as originally conceived.

Madness is a loose word—which we are apt to apply to such an act other than as we deem reasonable. To maintain Peace and Autocracy for his country—such aims are intelligible. But to tax his people for a

great navy and an immense but unprofitable colonial Empire! Can we wonder that Socialism increased with every year of his reign and that the world at large commented sceptically on the meaning of a very popular song called: "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles!"

We must not here weary the reader with a Kaiser chronicle beginning with a cable to Paul Kruger in 1896 and ending with another autograph equally astounding in 1918. From the date of the Kiel Canal commences a succession of ill considered, not to say ill natured, acts which have been called political pin pricks because none of them amounted to much when considered by itself.

The Jameson Raid episode helped neither Kruger nor Kaiser. In 1897 came another pin prick from Potsdam—the sudden seizure of Kiaochow and with it the virtual control of a province with a population equal to that of France—the holy soil of Confucius in Shantung. This pin prick was a hard one on China—not so much the loss of a rich province as the very offensive manner in which the coup d'etat was made.

The Roman Catholic authorities had insisted on sending into the interior of Shantung two of their missionaries in spite of Chinese protest. The mob killed these reverend exhorters and the Kaiser promptly pocketed a province. This opens up a

pleasing vista of national expansion by means of missionaries with a predilection for martyrdom; and had not the World War happened, who knows how many more provinces might have come under Prussian control through similar self-sacrifice on the part of pious priests?

German sentiment had been created by a horrible cartoon of the Kaiser depicting the gentle Buddha as a raging dragon devouring kindly Christians. Had this cartoon been but privately circulated, the Orient might have ignored it as an ebullition of religious fanaticism. But the artist insisted on claiming all the glory possible by not mere appending his autograph but by sending it throughout the world on the wings of an eager press.

Japan and China felt this pin prick much as a Christian would have resented a caricature of Jesus entering Jerusalem. India gave birth to Buddha, and while her 400 millions are not Buddhists in name, they nevertheless united with all non-Christians in resenting the Imperial insult that had no effect save to drive a wedge between East and West and help along the so-called Boxer Movement which at bottom is one for national independence and freedom from foreign meddling. The Kaiser not only seized Kiaochow but immediately converted it into a fortress and naval base from which he could make military advances as opportunity offered.

In 1898 he sent his Admiral Diedrichs to annoy Admiral Dewey who had sunk the Spanish fleet in the Philippines and who had Manila under his guns whilst waiting for the American troops to arrive and occupy the land. The Kaiser's admiral had no business in Manila bay save to look after the interests of Germans in distress or to aid the American Admiral in keeping order. England and Japan sent one ship each and were a moral support; but the Germans came with a large squadron and at once assumed the blustering tone of one who hoped that mere force would intimidate the apparently weaker party. Dewey knew his weakness in war material; but he also knew his International Law; and he knew that the Japanese and British captains would observe a benevolent neutrality. So he slapped the bully's face, diplomatically speaking, dared him to fight and had the satisfaction of soon seeing the smoke of the Diedrichs funnels dip below the horizon on their way back to Kiaochow.

This third pin prick was pointless as the two preceding ones; nor shall I unload my whole cushion full at this time. The pin pricks I refer to are historical facts that go far to prove that from 1895 on, the Kaiser's mind was no longer in a healthy state; he did many things that were theoretically impressive, but not one of them had more than a momentary success.

Compare the biographies of Washington, Franklin, Frederic the Great, Wellington—those men had few failures for they had no vanity.

In 1899 came the Boer War and such an unfolding of British sea power that though Germans held in every town clamorous meetings favoring the Boers and insulting to Queen Victoria, William II refused to receive the Transvaal envoys, altho but three years previously he had launched his electric bolt in favor of Oom Paul. Nor did Africanders forget this; for in 1914 they rallied under the British flag and chased every German from every part of the Dark Continent.

In 1900 came the Chinese reply to the German invasion of Shantung and every European in the Middle Kingdom sought safety from the Boxer gangs. Flags of all nations marched from the sea to Pekin where a foreign population was besieged, expecting massacre. The Kaiser sent a force; and at the head of it one whose military rank and courtly titles made him claim supreme command in the field and social precedence everywhere. Here was another blundering pin prick, for Waldersee made the name of Germany even more unpopular East of Suez than it was before. Japan, England and the United States made no official protest, but throughout these forces was collected a fund of resentment amply justified. In that Boxer campaign Waldersee displayed the vandal methods

which were to astonish Europe when the Belgian border was violated in 1914, and the wells of Pitchili were choked with bodies, Chinese virgins who preferred suicide to a Prussian embrace.

So unfortunate was the result of the Kaiser's action in Chinese waters; and so discouraging to the former friends of Germany in America, that in 1902 he sent his younger brother across the Atlantic on a friendly tour of inspection, which included the Capital and principal cities. Prince Henry was the Kaiser's junior by three years; a sailor by training and consequently interesting and sport loving—who was a welcome guest in every British port. He came to New York ostensibly to assist at the launching of a racing yacht for his brother; but incidentally to breathe new life into the flickering embers of Germanism that had been much dampened by recent activities inspired by Berlin. The sailor prince was welcomed jubilantly by his brother Germans and hospitably by all Americans. He brought with him a big bag full of Red Eagle medals, but found few American bosoms prepared for such an honor. The great Pierpont Morgan opened his private purse and a splendid private car in order that the Prince might move about in comfort, but would not bare his breast for the Red Eagle. The bag of medals went back much as it came; and Henry was loved for himself alone and not for the cause for

which he pleaded. He met many German singing societies and target companies and there was much enthusiasm over Goethe and Schiller and Kultur in general; but when it came to the question closest to the heart of official Berlin, it was discovered to the immense disgust of Unter den Linden that Americans of German parentage declined the patronage of a German Consul, refused to welcome Prince Henry as a brother German, but insisted vigorously on their desire to be regarded as through and through Americans welcoming a friendly foreigner. In vain did Prince Henry allude to the historic friendship binding our two countries; in vain did he point to the many degrees of Ph.D. granted at low cost to American students; in vain did he present Harvard University with many cases of mythical heroes; in vain did the Kaiser send a statue of the Great Frederic to Washington.

When the great war was on, there was immense clamor in the press against a Frederic the Great monument under the shadow of our legislative halls. Some denounced the effigy as that of a militarist and the rest held that such a statue was a daily insult to our government. We expected that a mob would shortly demolish this token of Kaiser kindliness as had happened in the case of George III at the outbreak of our War of Independence. One day, having business with

Army General Staff officers, I drove up to that building, and found a sentry pacing up and down in front of the much abused monument. We were then at war with Germany.

So I pointed to the "*Alter Fritz*" and asked as an innocent stranger if the sentry could tell me the name of that very familiar figure in cocked hat, riding boots and long stick. The sentry was good natured and looked hard and shook his head: "Sure, Boss, I don't know! Ye'd better tackle one of them guys inside!"

If the Great Frederic was intended to corrupt the American army, he was shamefully neglecting his work on that occasion. This work of art, was shortly afterwards taken down; not by the mob but by constituted authority. The curious may find it in some cellar of our Capital where it is protected from the Potomac fogs and where it must ever offer problems for a patriotic American to unravel.

We have statues to Steuben and DeKalb who came to America as adventurers in search of salary because Frederic the Great had no use for their services in his army. Neither of these men did anything to distinguish them from the hundreds of native born Americans who served throughout the seven years of the Revolutionary War and who died in poverty.

Frederic the Great helped this country throughout our struggle for Independence; he expressed himself

energetically against the recruiting of mercenaries in Germany and refused to allow them to march across his territory unless they paid the tax usually levied on cattle going to the slaughter pens.

Moreover the Great Frederic asked no salary for his work on behalf of American Independence.

Then why not put Steuben in the cellar and restore Frederic to an honorable pedestal, just to let the world know that we are a grateful people, in spite of the World War.

But this is a digression. No one admired the great Iron Chancelor more than his young pupil who ascended the throne in 1888. Moreover that year 1888 was one so crowded with momentous happenings that a stronger character than that of William II might have been pardoned for a political tort at some point or other. He stood at the close of a great historical era and was opening a new one under conditions most perplexing for a Prussian.

On the one hand, the venerable William I who had lived more than 90 years in the full possession of his faculties; who had fought against the Great Napoleon; who had seen Prussia laid waste after Jena; who had fled with Queen Louisa, his mother, to Tilsit in that dreary winter of 1806-7; who had entered Paris in triumph in 1814, in 1815 and finally in 1871. The Venerable William hated war as much as did the

Philosophical Frederic; and so soon as he had achieved what he regarded as essential—the unity of Germany and protection from future invasion, he wished for only a long life of rest. Old William, in harmony with his contemporary warriors and statesmen, was satisfied on land and took little if any interest in tropical colonies or over sea ventures. William II in these matters diverged from the tradition of his house, altho he made a poor excuse by pretending that once in a hazy past there had been a Hohenzollern attempt on the African coast under the so-called Great Elector. William the Venerable and Bismarck had a wholesome contempt for government by majorities; on the contrary, their experience in the Revolution of 1848 had confirmed their faith in government by one ostensible chief—unity of command, as we would say in military parlance. Both believed in the rule of an Autocrat—howbeit they held that faith because they regarded the monarch as the only force capable of being benevolent and strong at the same time.

On the other side was the Emperor Frederic who had for wife the gifted daughter of Queen Victoria, a sister of the beloved Edward VII. Emperor Frederic and his wife were each cast in modern mould, where Bismarck and his royal master embodied a modernized feudalism. Frederic ascended the throne on the death of his venerable father in 1888. He was a

dying man and lived but 100 days thereafter. But those days nearly made a palace revolution; for the court and the army chiefs looked upon Frederic the Noble as a conservative banker would regard an anarchist mob leader; they dreaded the reign of one who had openly consorted with men of political independence and whose wife was known to have praised a parliamentary system of government. These details which today sound childish were in 1888 material for political earthquakes likely to drench the country in the blood of a new civil war.

Between these eddies and whirlpools the young Kaiser had to paddle his canoe. He loved his father and mother from a domestic point of view; but politically he saw no salvation in democracy or even in representative government. Bismarck was his model statesman and William I his ideal King.

Once, I think it was in 1891, I urged the Kaiser to make war on Russia. His army was in excellent state; his fellow Germans in Russia were being shamefully persecuted by the religious authorities backed by the police; the Poles were suffering equally from administrative discrimination and the state of Europe was then such as to have promised him success and new territory at less cost than the Great Frederic expended for Silesia.

My proposition was rejected, but not upon its

merits. William II looked at me intently and then, as one making up his mind to do his duty at whatever cost, said that it was impossible—that on his death bed, he had received the monition of his venerable grandfather to cultivate at any cost the friendship of Russia.

And you of self governing ideals may pause to ask why the land of universal education and religious tolerance should so zealously desire unity with an Empire conspicuous for illiteracy and barbaric intolerance! The Kaiser's reason to me was that at that moment there were but two great nations based broadly and solidly on Autocracy, Prussia and Russia!

And now as I gaze at the wreckage of Romanoff and Hohenzollern thrones, those words have a portentous value in explaining many an error in his reign of thirty years.

He was an Autocrat—an avowed one—a benevolent ruler, a deeply religious Christian, and at the same time I venture to think that he was the most universally admired if not the most beloved figure in the whole wide world.

He dismissed Bismarck for two good reasons—and I repeat them as he gave them to me at the time.

The first reason was that Bismarck, whilst professing support of an absolute monarchy, actually had come to regard himself as the ruler of the Empire instead

of the first subject of its Emperor. You may for yourself see that from the accession of Bismarck in 1862 until the close of the French War ten years afterwards, each step of the Iron Chancelor meant an aggrandisement of Prussia, because it was taken hand in hand with a victorious Prussian army. The wars that made of Germany the arbiter of Europe were the three fought within a space of seven years—between 1864 and 1871. Diplomacy is a comparatively simple game when one party is a victorious army and the other must accept whatever terms are offered. The Iron Chancelor stood at the zenith of his fame and power when France lay bruised and bleeding at his feet in 1871. He did not permit her to rise and bind those wounds until she had signed the bond by which her fairest provinces were surrendered and by which a money payment was exacted so heavy that all the world thought the terms ruinous.

Moreover the great diplomatist accepted no promissory notes or promises of any kind. He demanded blood and—coin. And until his demands were met to the uttermost farthing he kept a Prussian army camped on the soil of France—and that army lived on the fat of the land.

But after the bruising of Denmark, Austria and France, Germany needed no longer a bruiser, but a statesman; and you who have his life at your elbow

may note therein that from the day when bruising ceased to serve the cause of Germanic reconstruction, the labors of the Iron Chancelor were comparable only to what might be looked for should Vulcan take upon himself the task of Apollo.

The second reason was more intimate. Bismarck had a Prussian contempt for all women, but for the Empress Frederic he had a particularly hostile feeling because she was not merely English but she took no pains to conceal her dislike of the Chancelor's brutal methods. He divined in her a political opponent no less than the representative of a superior set of social ideas. Already he had muzzled her husband, but he was yet to learn that brute force is a poor match against the sex par excellence. William II loved and honored his mother however much he might differ from her in matters of state. He no doubt had many a talk in which harsh words may have been exchanged. But in a family matter, however bitter, the Kaiser never for a moment permitted an outsider to want in respect for her imperial attributes. Now Bismarck not only showed a desire to be the Tycoon of Prussia as against a Wilhelm the Second Mikado; but he even went so far as to treat the mother of his Emperor as target for political inuendo in his officially inspired newspapers—he referred to her insultingly

as: *Die Englaenderin;* much as the mob of 1792 stigmatized Marie Antoinette as *"l' Autrichienne"!*

The great Chancelor like the great Napoleon neglected no means however base or however picayune if thereby he could harm an enemy; and in our time few engines of destruction are more easily guided than a press whose purpose is to make money and whose ink is tinctured with poison. Thus one of the noblest characters that ever sat upon a throne was in the press of her adopted country daily treated as a secret enemy and held up to the hatred of a Hun rabble.

And William II expelled Bismarck in the face of an amazed Europe and an alarmed Germany. It was however a step forced upon him by his minister's arrogance, and it proved what many had suspected, that the greatness of Bismarck reposed more upon brute force and craftiness than upon a broad foundation of spiritual equanimity. A great man is great no less in his home than in a public station. Washington was no less the Father of his country when retired on his Virginia plantation, than when receiving the surrender of a British army at Yorktown; Wellington remained great long after Waterloo and Jefferson Davis was no less beloved in his declining years, at Beauvoir, than when Commander-in-Chief of an army dedicated to the cause of an independent Confederacy of Southern States. But Bismarck in retire-

ment shriveled from his former pompous proportions to a querulous and impotent seeker after office. He courted interviews in the newspapers—he who formerly treated the press of his country as a bag of poison gas. He freely criticized those whom the Kaiser selected for high posts—he who formerly prosecuted such as dared to discuss his own actions. But throughout these years of undignified retreat, William II never forgot what Bismarck had accomplished in the past for Prussian autocracy; he never failed to pay all possible honor to his former chief minister and when he died in 1898 I doubt if amongst the mourners was any one who more sincerely appreciated past services than Germany's War Lord.

Bismarck had personally trained his Kaiser, when Prince, in the mysteries of diplomacy; and we must not be surprised if William learned good and bad from this very rugged and yet very wily instructor.

Germany was alarmed when Bismarck was dismissed, because a whole generation had been educated in a school for which Bismarck had selected the text books. William II however grew in popularity from day to day, for the reasons already indicated. He traveled incessantly; he knew his land and its people as no German ever had since Martin Luther. He came in personal contact with practically every man, woman

and child of his country; and no one could win hearts more easily by a smile or a wave of the hand.

He interested himself in factories, in ship yards, in singing societies, in municipal improvement, in the building of churches and the restoration of old ones. He had a typically German wife who did her work in a manner to warm the heart of every *hausfrau*. Kaiser and Kaiserin had the homely virtues dear to the people and he had in addition the keenness of a good traveling salesman in seeking new markets for German wares and making his Colonies valuable commercially no less than prospective coaling stations for his fleet and recruiting ground for exotic regiments.

No prince of whom we have yet heard had so many and such practical accomplishments as William II; it is little short of truth to say that his knowledge was encyclopedic. No foreigner of any standing ever had converse with him but went away amazed by his charm of manner and above all by the fluency of his discourse on any subject the particular foreigner happened to know about.

But alas, the Kaiser, like many another man of genius was unequal in his moods and averse to asking advice. For instance, at Metz, during his grand manœuvers in Alsace Lorraine, he was in a fair way to make friends for his administration by manifesting a smiling countenance when riding or driving through

the avenues of that famous fortress, surrendered by Bazaine in 1870.

He had but to persist in this cheery mood and to mitigate some of the police methods—and—who knows but the great war might have been averted?

It was in 1894, if my memory serves; and he made a speech in honor of a Hohenzollern whose equestrian statue was to be unveiled in this very French city. Had the statue commemorated a great German scientist, or musician or poet, the insult might have been less; but this Hohenzollern was a General conspicuous even in Prussia for his brutality—especially towards his beautiful wife. It's hard for me to think of any act more ill-timed and more harmful to international kindliness than a glorification of the so-called Red Prince by the Kaiser in person. He addressed a vast crowd—largely composed of Germans with excursion tickets, but also many French drawn by curiosity. I had a seat amongst the favored, but preferred to study popular psychology and mixed in the crowd. It was for the Kaiser a splendid opportunity for some kind words, yet here is his peroration as I recall it—translating it from his very harsh German:

"German you are! German you ever have been! And German shall you remain forever! So help me God and my good sword!"

It was like a slap in the face when reconciliation

had been looked for. About me only French was talked and comment was dangerous because of many secret service police in plain clothes. However, I noted dark expressions on every side and these words were passed in low but angry tones: "Nous verrons ca!" (We'll see about that!) And the answer came in 1914.

History may be "bunk" but the wise man needs its lessons. William II is now History and I seek to speak of him in a manner to merit the respect of a prospective historian. I speak of things by me seen and heard or believed from trustworthy sources. Yet I may be at fault on some points. Who shall search the human heart save God? How far was William sincere in what he said to me; how far was I dull in failing to penetrate his ulterior purposes?

No monarch ever had more experience during years of Peace in the art of handling armies on land and squadrons at sea; but however well William II played the big Kriegsspiel before 1914, it was, after all, only as an amateur. He loved the war game and did fairly well when his opponents were dummies. I've known amateur yachtsmen and amateur jockeys and amateur chauffeurs—but never have I known one such who was a match for the best professional. And methinks that humanity and civilization owe their ultimate victory over the armies of Huns and Vandals in some

degree to William's genius for knowing something of everything and meddling recklessly where wisdom would counsel caution. Old William I was ever victorious, for he engaged professionals to do his fighting and never meddled. He engaged Bismarck at the outset of his reign and never changed. William II changed his chief adviser half a dozen times; and how many times he meddled in the affairs of his military advisers is a secret which time alone may reveal. This much however we may venture as a digression, that had the Kaiser in 1914 united the moderation of his grandfather and the military genius of the Great Frederic, India and Africa would probably be now colonies of Germany and Paris a provincial capital of Southern Prussia.

Stranger things have happened in ages past and they warn us of what we may expect if we do not guard against them. Genseric, a Vandal Kaiser, marched an army from Potsdam to Gibraltar and from Tangier to Carthage and thence he sacked Rome and took an Empress as part of his booty. All this he did when the Holy Roman Empire covered the known earth with its aegis of law and liberty much as the League of Nations would now rule our distracted world. But the League of Nations must prepare a proper police or it will encourage another Kaiser Genseric—if not from Potsdam then perhaps from Petrograd—who knows!

ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS

1864–

THE BALKAN BEAR GARDEN

ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS

THE BALKAN BEAR GARDEN

By RICHARD BOARDMAN

"The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece!
Where burning Sappho loved and sung,
Where grew the arts of war and peace,—
Where Delos rose, and Phœbus sprung!
Eternal summer gilds them yet,
But all, except their sun, is set."

. . . . . .

"Earth! render back from out thy breast
A remnant of our Spartan dead."

ON THE island of Crete, in the year 1864, Dame Destiny gave birth to a man child who, after redeeming three million Greeks from Turkish oppression, one day was to sit as the most distinguished member in the first council of the League of Nations. Upon his infant shoulders was placed the burdensome name of Eleutherios K. Venizelos.

I have before me two accounts of his birth. Neither states the precise day of its occurrence. This is due, no doubt, to two facts. The Greeks pay little or no

attention to birthdays, celebrating instead the day of one's patron saint; and, as they still use the old style in reckoning time, a Greek writer might hesitate to give a date which must from the nature of things be untrue, either from his own or from his reader's point of view, and at the same time might consider the matter of too little consequence to warrant a full explanation.

His father was a rich merchant. His mother, like the mothers of so many other great men, was a woman of profound religious nature. Already three children had been born to this couple, all of whom had died in infancy. His mother resolved that if prayer could save this child, he should be saved. The story is told that in the house, for two days and two nights before the birth of Venizelos, two Mohammedan hodjas and two Greek priests prayed ceaselessly that the child about to be born might have a long life. They prayed in four different tongues. Whatever one may think of the prayers of these professionals, few will doubt the efficacy of the spirit of the mother who not only called in these men, known far and wide for their spiritual power, but added to their prayers in divers languages, her own prayer uttered in the great universal language of a woman's love for her child. In those days—nay, weeks and months of yearning, of determination and of prayer, she impressed upon

the face of the child a beauty of expression that years of struggle have not been able to deface or mar.

Venizelos was educated at the University of Athens. He became a lawyer and returned to Crete in 1886. He is said to have acquired a considerable law practice. But in 1887 he was in politics as the leader of the Liberal party elected to power that year. Crete, at the time, was a wellnigh autonomous dependency of Turkey. But the bitterness of the party quarrel in 1887 led to the intervention of the Turk with an army of 40,000 men. The story of the years that followed is the story of one armed conflict after another. In the Rebellion of 1895 the Concert of Powers of Europe took part and sided with the Turk. Venizelos led the forlorn hope of the Cretan patriots who stood for union of Crete with Greece. The fighting continued off and on till 1897. Then the Turks, because of their own bad conduct toward the British, were forced by the Great Powers to withdraw, and Prince George, a son of the King of Greece, was appointed High Commissioner.

The contest now became one between the Cretans, who wanted immediate union with Greece, and the Grecian Prince, who wanted to hold his berth under the suzerainty of Turkey. In March, 1905, a Revolutionary Convention proclaimed the "political union of Crete with the Greek kingdom." The

revolt headed by Venizelos lasted eight months. Then the English, Russian, Italian and French forces supporting Prince George moved against Venizelos and his Cretan followers. Venizelos decided it was time to parley. A compromise was agreed upon whereby Venizelos gave up 700 rifles, and Prince George resigned his Commissionership.

The Cretans continued to agitate for a union with Greece. In 1910 the question came up again, but the Great Powers were firm. The union of Crete with Greece seemed farther off than ever.

Then, an unforeseen event in Greece changed the whole course of Cretan affairs. The Military League, an organization of military officers, had succeeded in a bloodless revolution in Greece. The Grecian populace had become wearied with the inefficiency of their government. But the Military League, upon coming into power, found that civil government required talents different from those learned in the army. The leaders knew of Venizelos. Some of them, of course, knew him personally. They sent for him to come to Athens to reorganize the government of Greece.

Venizelos stood for election and was elected to the Chamber of Deputies from a district of the city of Athens. Turkey protested his election on the ground that he was a Turkish citizen. He had spent the larger

part of his life in Crete, yet he was technically a citizen of Greece by virtue of his father's citizenship and the Turkish protest was disallowed. He was, however, an islander and a provincial. He landed at the Piræus, the port of Athens, on September 14, 1910. He was welcomed by an outburst of enthusiasm. At the moment, the burning political question was whether the popular assembly, recently elected, should be considered a constituent assembly or remain merely a revisionary body. The populace of Athens chose to consider it a constituent assembly. On the evening of his arrival at Athens, a crowd gathered about his hotel. He came to the balcony to address them. He said:

"My criticisms upon the inertia of royalty have been misinterpreted as anti-dynastic. On the contrary, I believe that it is to the nation's interest to show its devotion to the reigning dynasty, and I therefore consider that the Assembly should remain revisionary, and recast the bases of legislation, according to modern requirements."

When Venizelos said, "I consider that the Assembly ought to remain revisionary," the crowd of Athenians began to shout, "Constituent, constituent!"

When the shouts ceased, he repeated his statement; "I consider that the Assembly should remain revisionary." "Constituent!" shouted the people. "I say revisionary," repeated the speaker.

By his firmness the crowd was silenced, accepting the dictation of the man who spoke with such convincing sincerity. Such was his first day in Athens.

One month later, the Cabinet resigned and Venizelos was asked by King George to form a Cabinet.

On October 14, 1910, Venizelos, who, five years before, with a handful of Cretan palikans, had defied the great powers of Europe, now came to the Premiership of Greece with the hearty approval of those powers.

Constantine, the crown prince, had been deposed from his command in the army by the Military League. Venizelos promptly secured his recall and his return to his position to the army.

A new Greece was born with the advent of Venizelos. Venizelos revised the Constitution and procured its adoption in the form he suggested. He reformed the administration of justice, reorganized the finances of the country, procured the passage of laws for the encouragement of agriculture, laws dealing with hygiene, workmen's insurance, child labor and employment of women in industry. These were the activities that engaged the attention of foreigners in Athens. And in Athens, as in the capitals of all small countries, it is well to keep the attention of resident foreigners engaged upon such harmless matters.

Venizelos reorganized the Greek army. The need

was urgent. The steps taken were equal to the emergency. In Turkey in 1908, the Young Turks had revolted and come into power first at Salonika and later as Constantinople. But the Young Turk soon showed himself more Turkish than the old Turk. He started in on a program of Turkification of Turkey, especially of those portions of the Empire that were most disloyal, Crete, Eastern Roumelia, Bosnia and Macedonia. This brought together the enemies of Turkey as nothing else could have done. In 1909, Serbia and Bulgaria signed a treaty of alliance. In the summer of 1910, the Turk, exercising the most extreme cruelty in so doing, undertook to disarm the population of Macedonia. This renewal of Turkish cruelty and of Turkish oppression was felt by Bulgar, Serb, Greek and Albanian alike. Such was the condition of Balkan affairs when Venizelos came to power. War was imminent. But even in the face of this Turkish menace, Greek military affairs were in a condition hardly better than were her civil affairs. The army had not recovered from the effects of the defeat received in the Greco-Turkish war of 1897. Venizelos entrusted the actual work of reorganization to a French Military Mission. The army underwent a complete transformation in eighteen months. This was accomplished without exciting the suspicion of

Turkey or the officious interest of the Great Powers. On May 16, 1912, a treaty between Greece and Bulgaria was signed. It made no provision for the allocation among the victors of territory that might be recovered from Turkey. The Balkan Alliance against Turkey was a loose agreement to make common cause against a common enemy. Its only formal expression was in the two treaties mentioned. The Greco-Serbian treaty came later.

Venizelos did not want war. He tried in vain to prevent it. He attempted an understanding with Turkey even upon the Cretan question. But all was in vain. The Turks continued their outrages in Macedonia. On October 3, 1912, the Balkan Allies sent a joint note to Turkey demanding autonomy for Crete, Old Serbia, Macedonia and Albania. The Porte evaded the issue. The King of Greece was in Copenhagen and his consent to the declaration of war was necessary. Venizelos, however, had agreed with the Crown Prince upon the course to be followed.

On October 5th, King George returned to Athens. Before the royal yacht arrived at the Piræus, Venizelos was taken on board. Immediately the King and Prime Minister went into conference. The King knew little of what had been going on in the Balkans during his absence. He was strongly of the opinion that war could be avoided. The arguments of Veni-

zelos failed to move him. He stated to the Prime Minister with a good deal of vigor, that he did not approve of the steps that were being taken.

"Your Majesty," replied Venizelos, "the Crown Prince entirely agrees with me."

This he repeated three times. The King took the hint and finally yielded. When one's heir-apparent, who is also a general in the army, and one's Prime Minister are agreed, and the completeness and the significance of their agreement are brought home to one, it is the part of wisdom, even for a king, to consent to the course of action that is proposed.

On October 13, 1912, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria delivered their ultimatum to Turkey. On October 14, 1912, the Greek Chamber of Deputies opened in ordinary session. Deputies chosen by Crete presented themselves and demanded recognition. Since his own advent to power, Venizelos, on at least one occasion, had been compelled to deny them admission. Now, all was changed. It was a day for which he had eagerly waited. It was the culmination of a hope for which he had risked his life many times. The hour had arrived. The deputies were admitted. Venizelos spoke of the declaration of war against Turkey and then turning, welcomed his old friends who, with him, had shared the hardships of the campaign when they together had faced the armies, first of Turkey and

later of the Great Powers of Europe, in the fastnesses of the mountains of Crete:

> "In the name of the Greek people, I welcome the delegates of our Cretan brothers present within these walls."

We are told and well may believe that prolonged applause greeted this sentence, which gave recognition to the union of Crete and the mother-country; for when one remembers that European history was born in Crete, one can understand something of the irksomeness of the Asiatic control exercised over an island which in sentiment is more European than Europe.

The First Balkan War started immediately and progressed with startling rapidity. On October 21st, the Greek army came in contact with the Turkish forces. Nineteen days later, Salonika, with 25,000 Turkish troops, was captured by the Greek army. The success of the Balkan allies is still recent history. In December, Bulgaria signed an armistice with Turkey in her own behalf and in behalf of Serbia and Montenegro. Greece refused Turkey any armistice and the Greek fleet prevented the re-enforcement of the Turkish forces in the Balkans by water.

The representatives of the Balkan allies met the Turkish delegates in London but nothing came of the negotiations. The war was resumed in February,

and peace was signed in May. Meanwhile, on March 18, 1913, King George had been assassinated at Salonika and Constantine had come to the throne.

The treaty of peace with Turkey was signed May 30, 1913. On the night of June 29, 1913, shortly after midnight, the Bulgarians treacherously attacked their allies, the Serbs and Greeks, along a front of about seventy miles.

During the thirty days that had intervened since the signing of the peace treaty, Venizelos had tried to reconcile the dispute with Bulgaria. He accepted the offer of the Czar to act as arbiter between Greece and Bulgaria. But Bulgaria would have none of it. Nevertheless, she did not catch Serbia and Greece as much off their guard as she had anticipated. They held her at bay on her western front. And Venizelos, was able to bring Roumania into the war against Bulgaria. Roumania attacked the Bulgarian rear and forced Bulgaria to sue for peace. The second Balkan war lasted only six weeks. It ended with an extension of the Greek frontier in Eastern Macedonia.

We have alluded to the part the Greek navy played in the first Balkan war. The lesson of that war was not lost on the Turk. In the spring of 1914, Turkey was making plans to attack Greece. She purchased a Brazilian dreadnought that was being

constructed in England. She made arrangements for the purchase of a second dreadnought in England and of some submarines in France. But Venizelos, realizing the danger, took the necessary precautions to meet it. On the afternoon of June 22, 1914, the Greek Chargé d' Affaires in Washington arranged with President Wilson for the purchase from the United States of the battleships *Idaho* and *Mississippi*. As the Greek minister left the White House, the Turkish Ambassador called to protest against the sale. But he came too late. On July 8, 1914, the sale was consummated. Thanks to the act of America, Greece maintained her superiority over Turkey upon the seas. The *casus belli* of the general European war was therefore sought and found in a different field.

Venizelos was at Munich when he learned of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia of July 22, 1914. He did not hesitate, but took his position at once and acted upon it. He telegraphed to the Foreign Minister at Athens:

> "It is of supreme importance not to allow any doubt to exist as to the intentions of Greece. Greece cannot stand with arms folded in the presence of a possible attack on Serbia by Bulgaria. She could not tolerate such an attack."

Just before the first battle of the Marne, when the German invasion had penetrated deepest into

France, he sent word to the Cabinets of Paris, London and Petrograd that Greece would put her forces at their disposal when needed for operations in the Balkans.

He maintained 120,000 men under arms and furnished Serbia every facility that she desired for the transportation of supplies by way of Salonika and the Vardar railroad. For three years the Allies played fast and loose with Greece, while Constantine played fast and loose with the Allies.

Venizelos at last awoke to a full realization of the fact that the King was determined to follow out a policy of German absolutism in Greece. On September 25, 1916, with the Admiral Coundouriotis in command of the Greek fleet, he set sail for Crete. Immediately the island of Crete set up a provisional government with Venizelos at its head. After a short stay in Crete, Venizelos and Coundouriotis set sail for Salonika. There an army of Greek Volunteers which had joined the French forces received him as their acknowledged leader. A government headed by Venizelos, was established. The Allies gave this government some slight financial support but refused it political recognition. On November 24, 1916, this provisional government declared war upon Bulgaria and Germany. In so far as he could do it, Venizelos had redeemed the treaty pledge of Greece to Serbia.

For seven months more, Constantine trifled with the Allies. Upon one occasion French troops were fired upon. The soldiers of Constantine encamped at the very base of the Acropolis. Their obvious intent was in case a single stray shell from an English or French battleship should hit that sacred hill, to proclaim to the neutral world that what Germany was doing at Rheims, the Allies were doing at Athens. But finally, after America had come into the war, France and England took the matter in hand. On June 11, 1917, Constantine was called upon to abdicate. He yielded next day. He was permitted to leave Greece, taking his eldest son with him. His younger son, Alexander, came to the throne. Venizelos returned to Athens. Eight days later Greece entered the war. Venizelos returned to a sorely divided people. He set about to raise an army. At the time of the final drive two hundred and sixty-five thousand Greeks faced the Bulgars. When the war ended, Greece had about three hundred thousand men under arms.

Within a fortnight after the signing of the armistice at Salonika, Venizelos was in Paris, and within a few days more, in London. In both these capitals, even in October, 1918, the popular opinion was that the war would continue another six months. In the mind of any one coming out of Macedonia, however

during those days, there was no doubt as to the outcome of the Great War, nor of the imminence of its ending. During the last battle of the war in the Balkans, the Bulgarians had maintained their positions; then in the night they withdrew, they fled, they surrendered. Their whole resistance crumbled at the moment it had seemed well-nigh impregnable. The completeness of their exhaustion told a story of a similar exhaustion on the west front, for if Germany had had a division, a regiment or a battalion to spare, she would have used it to prevent such an overwhelming collapse of her ally. That being the situation of affairs, the centre of interest transferred itself from the battlefield to the Cabinets of Paris and London. Thither, Venizelos betook himself.

The part taken by America in the War and the acceptance of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, as the basis of the general armistice, had no doubt led the world to hope that the impending peace conference was to be different from any other peace conference. Representatives came from small countries armed with arguments, legalistic and moral, in the confident expectation that claims based on reason and right at last were to prevail over claims supported merely by force. Everyone knows now how little attention such arguments received at the peace conference.

Lloyd George came to the conference pledged by campaign promises to bring the Kaiser to trial, and to make Germany pay the cost bill of the war. Wilson was committed to the creation of a League of Nations. Clemenceau was bent on the protection of the new French frontiers. The treaties provided for all these things. Each of the three accomplished a paper success, but each of them suffered a dismal failure. The Kaiser is still at large and untried. The costs of the war are being paid by the victors. The League of Nations exists, but the United States is not a member. The Treaty for the protection of France was not even submitted to the American Congress. Justice to weaker nations, self determination and "open covenants openly arrived at" were all sacrificed to the accomplishment of hollow victories.

It is too soon to appraise the actual accomplishment of the Peace Conference for good or for evil. Needless to say, to a war-sick world the peace conference proved a tragic disappointment.

When Constantine left Greece, in June, 1917, he went with his family to Switzerland and took up his abode in Geneva.

In 1920, a series of unforeseen events brought him once more to the fore. To actresses, politicians and princes in exile, publicity is of prime importance. On January 31, 1920, Prince Christopher, Constan-

tine's brother, married the widow of an American millionaire. The marriage was recognized by the Royal family as entirely regular. This union brought to the Royal family more notoriety than it had known since June, 1917.

On the other hand, while Venizelos had been amazingly successful and had been elected to one of the five seats in the Council of the League of Nations, there had been murmurs at home at the prolongation of the war, the increase of taxes and the postponement of elections. The treaty at Sevres was signed on August 10, 1921. An election was immediately called, to be held in November.

On August 12th, two former Greek officers attempted the assassination of Venizelos. He was shot as he was entering the Gare de Lyon at Paris. He was hit in the shoulder and thigh. The reaction was instantaneous and most unfortunate. A hostile demonstration against the Royalists in Athens resulted fatally to a young Greek writer of great promise. An incident that should have excited sympathy for Venizelos, was thereby turned against him by the excesses of his friends.

The tragic reign of Alexander suddenly was brought to a tragic end. He was bitten by a pet monkey and on October 25, 1920, died from the wound.

So matters stood on the election day, November

14th, 1920. At the election, the Venizelists were defeated by a substantial, though not overwhelming majority. On November 16th, Venizelos and his Cabinet resigned.

On December 5th, a farcical plebiscite was held to determine the recall of Constantine to the Greek throne. An overwhelming majority declared for the King. On December 19th, Constantine returned to Athens amid a great fan-flare of rejoicing. All the forms were observed. Greece had her King again but she paid dearly for the glamour of the restoration.

In statescraft Venizelos succeeded beyond every promise he ever made, but his argument to the Peace Conference, echoing as it did the unhappy jargon of the Balkans and the catch phrases of the American President, made an impression that was unfortunate. He has been called an Imperialist. Venizelos' policy has been something quite different. He has fought for a generation for the redemption of Greek people from the servile and degrading oppression of the Moslem Turk. That certainly is not Imperialism.

While abroad, Venizelos has been thought by his critics to be an Imperialist. At home, he has been charged with being too radical. His social and political reforms in the laws of Greece brought them abreast of the laws of other parts of Europe. Greece,

under his leadership, was the first country to accept the international labor program.

Sometimes Venizelos has been depicted as a bandit, as a sort of Villa. It is true that Venizelos with a handful of followers in the fastnesses of the Cretan mountains fought against the organized forces of the oppressors of his country. But he was never the stuff of which bandits are made.

He has been portrayed as a sort of Grecian Warwick —the king-maker. It is true, that one of his first acts upon coming to power in Greece was to reconcile King George to his son, Prince Constantine, and restore the Prince to his place in the army and assure him his succession to the crown. Later, when Constantine proved himself unfit for that crown, he cooperated with the powers that set him aside, and set aside, too, his eldest son, and placed young Alexander upon the throne. But Venizelos is no Warwick.

His dealings with the Greek people have been characterized by two striking traits, he has never hesitated to tell them the truth, as he saw the truth, even when it was opposed to their preconceived opinions, and he has never hesitated to resign office when the best interest of the country seemed to require it. At least twice he resigned while he was still the acknowledged leader of a majority in the Greek Chamber of Deputies.

Notwithstanding his transparent sincerity, he has the power of concealing his emotions and his recognition of the duplicity of those who attempt to hoodwink him. The Greeks constantly refer to his Sphinx-like smile and liken it to the smile on the face of the Giaconda (Mona Lisa). No doubt long and intimate contact with those who wish neither him nor his country well, has taught him discretion, yet he is the least reticent of men. He is most generous of his time and thought. With those he does not distrust, he will talk long and frankly, sparing no pains that he be not misunderstood.

Three pictures of Venizelos remain in the author's memory. The first in August, 1918, at his house in Athens, which is pock-marked with bullets from machine guns that riddled it in the Royalist demonstrations in December, 1916. He spoke with us in very good English. Then, as my companion—an American—spoke to him in Greek, his face broke into a smile and he spoke in Greek. Then, lest he seem discourteous, he promptly resumed the conversation in English.

In the Governor's Palace in Salonika, at an afternoon reception, the American Consul, asked him a question in reference to the Balkan situation. Mr. Venizelos answered in Greek. He spoke with earnestness and great rapidity, but with a beauty of diction

that one could appreciate though one knew the meaning of no single word that he uttered. In Salonika on the 29th of September, 1918, on the afternoon of the day on which the Bulgarian generals signed the armistice, the atmosphere was electric. The war was over. The war was won. For the third time in the short space of six years, Greece, under his leadership, had emerged successful from a war that had threatened her very existence.

As one studied his face, his features, his expression, the play of his mind, the manner of his expression and the sum total of the man, one searched one's memory to find the American whom he most resembled. It wasn't Roosevelt. It wasn't Wilson. It wasn't Lincoln. There was something about him that took one back to New England,—the broad forehead, the deep brown eyes, so kindly, so honest, yet so amazingly brilliant. No, it was not Webster. It was Phillips Brooks upon whom my mind finally fixed as most resembling him. One might hesitate to speak of this play of the imagination. For to find a resemblance between a Cretan patriot, become a Greek Prime Minister, and a Harvard graduate, become a New England Bishop, might seem too far-fetched even to be put into words, if it had not been for the pen portrait of one who knows him intimately.

Mr. Take Jonesco, the Roumanian diplomat, writes of his first meeting with Mr. Venizelos:

"I had long admired the great man. I had been struck by his brilliant and rapid career. I had heard of his gentleness and goodness which concealed an extraordinary energy backed by a brilliant intellect that was even more extraordinary. I was attracted to him from the first. That head, like a Byzantine saint straight from a Church fresco, that gentle and penetrating glance, that subtle smile, the irresistible sympathy which radiates from all his being, the almost girlish modesty, all the more charming when combined with a will of iron—all that strikes you the moment you see him."

The first meeting of Venizelos and Jonesco took place in January, 1913. They met once again in London, in May of the same year. The result of these two meetings was the participation, in June, 1913, of Roumania in the second Balkan war on the side of Greece and Serbia against Bulgaria. If Take Jonesco could find, in this organizer of wars, a resemblance to a Byzantine saint, surely one might be permitted the pleasing phantasy of a resemblance to Phillips Brooks.

In one way, the Greeks are more like the Americans than are any of the other European peoples.

The Greeks, like ourselves, drink water because they like water to drink. The Englishman drinks his tea; the German his beer; the French and Italian their wines, but two Athenians will go into a coffee house, buy two tiny cups of Turkish coffee for the sake of the large glasses of water that go with the coffee, and over these cups and glasses they will sit for hours and discuss their affairs of business, the gossip of the city and questions of state.

In another way we are unlike the Greeks, though true to our Anglo-Saxon traditions. The Greek loves talk and values discussion. To him, a sound argument carries conviction. To us, a seemingly unanswerable argument, excites instantaneous opposition. Instinctively we know the thing isn't so, because, forsooth, anything so logical can't be true. We accept the argument in favor of free trade, but we are all protectionists. We amend the Federal Constitution to establish prohibition, and then attribute the consequences to a handful of reformers. But the Greek is more like the Frenchman in this matter, he is more mentally honest. He will thresh the matter out and be governed by his conclusions. It is among such a people that Mr. Venizelos stands pre-eminent. He is a pleasing conversationalist and a brilliant orator. He is modest and temperate. He has their virtues. But he has not their vices. He

is particularly free from that physical inertia which, with mental alertness, is characteristic of the Athenian. He maintains in Athens the vigor with which his rugged Cretan constitution has endowed him.

AUTHORITIES

This paper was written for the purpose of making more familiar to its readers the personality of a man who, in his quiet, wise and statesmanlike way, is shaping the affairs of Europe.

In preparing this paper I have made free use of the following works: *"E. Venizelos, His Life and Work"* E. P. Dutton & Co., *"The Greek Question"* Auguste Gauvain, *Translated by* Dr. Carroll N. Brown, *"Rise of Nationality in the Balkans,"* R. W. Seton-Watson, *"Greece in Her True Light,"* Xanthaky & Sakellarios, *"Greece and the Near East,"* Dr. Kalopathakes.

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

1841–

INDOMITABLE LEADERSHIP

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

INDOMITABLE LEADERSHIP

By RAYMOND RECOULY

AMONG his contemporaries whether in Europe or the United States, Georges Clemenceau stands out a striking figure,—one of the greatest statesmen of modern times. The war that produced many great, one may say, very great generals, especially in the allied armies, saw but few great statesmen. One of the few men whose decisive rôle during the war showed him to be an exceptional leader, was Clemenceau.

No man at his time of life ever carried on such exhausting toil, physical and mental, as that which this statesman of seventy-seven shouldered from November, 1917 to November, 1918.

Starting for the front in a motor-car at four or five o'clock in the morning three or four times a week, he kept in touch with generals, officers and soldiers, all along the lines. Such work would have seemed incredible if it had not actually been done. Once at

the front he walked about under fire as if he had come out for the pleasure of risking his life with the *poilus* who were fighting for *la Patrie*. The Higher Command were in constant fear for him. But he knew what he was about. Valuable as his own life might be to the country, to court death was a higher duty than to take care of himself, if by this seeming indifference he could inspire Frenchmen all along the trenches with his confidence in ultimate victory.

Having discoursed with the Marshal and his generals, having saluted and talked with the officers, he chatted with the rank and file of the soldiery and rushed back to Paris, arriving at the Ministry of War at ten or eleven o'clock at night, ready to attend to such pressing business as demanded his personal care. And all the time cheerful, alert, confident, showing, though things looked dark, as when the great advance began in 1918, that the Prime Minister never for one moment doubted that the Germans would be hurled back.

In spite of this devotion to duty he always was greeted with noisy opposition from the Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies.

On one occasion, after he had been howled down, and finally obtained a hearing, he said: "I regret that our country being in such great danger, a unanimous vote of confidence cannot be accorded to us.

But when all is said, the opposition of the Socialists does not in the least enfeeble the Government. For four long years our troops have held their own at the front with a line which was steadily being worn down. Now a huge body of German soldiers fresh from Russia and in good heart come forward to assail us. Some retreat was inevitable. From the moment when Russia thought that peace could be obtained by the simple expression of wishes to that end, we all knew that, sooner or later, the enemy would be able to release a million of men to fall upon us. That meant that such a retirement as we have witnessed must of necessity follow. Our men have kept their line unbroken against odds of five to one. They have often gone sleepless for three days and even four days in succession. But our great soldiers have had great leaders, and our army as a whole has proved itself to be even greater than we could expect.

"The duties *we have to perform* here are, in contrast, tame and even petty. All we have to do is to keep cool and hold on. The Germans are nothing like so clever as they think themselves to be. They have but a single device. They throw their entire weight into one general assault, and push their advantage to the utmost. True they have forced back our line of defense. But final success is that which alone matters, and that success for us is certain. Give way we never shall."

"Germany has once more staked her all on one great blow, thinking to cow us into abandoning the conflict. Her armies have tried this desperate game before. They tried it on the Marne, they tried it on the Yser, they tried it at Verdun, they tried it elsewhere. But they never succeeded, and they never will."

"Our Allies today are the leading nations of the world. They have one and all pledged themselves to fight on till victory is within our grasp. The men who have already fallen have not fallen in vain. By their death they have once more made French history a great and noble record. It is now for the living to finish the glorious work begun by the dead.

Even in the short perspective of these few years Georges Clemenceau stands forth like a legendary hero. Descended in a direct line from the great makers of the French Revolution, he has all their impetuosity, their fire, their idealism, their courage. Like them he appeared upon the scene in the very nick of time, just at the most critical moment when the slightest wavering amongst the Allies would have spelt German's triumph. He re-galvanized their slowly ebbing energy, symbolizing in his own personality the soul of France, of a France at war, determined to fight to the bitter end, to fling all her men, all her resources into the balance, rather than accept defeat.

That indomitable courage, that energy, bore all before them in the allied armies both in England and America. Force of circumstances as well as the whole bent of his nature made Clemenceau the very pivot of the war. He was the incarnation of the great struggle and of its victorious end.

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Georges Clemenceau has a powerful face with marked features, high cheek bones, bushy eyebrows, small and strangely piercing eyes, all denoting his love of struggle and effort. His manner of speaking is abrupt and sharp. The nervous brevity of his sentences, the shortness of his expressions make his conversation appear like a game of fencing. He has always spent much of his time at fencing schools, being a dangerous duellist, and the sharp retort of his conversation has all the swiftness of the thrust of foil and sword.

And underlying all that combative instinct and impetuosity, is a deep undercurrent of idealism and human kindness.

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Clemenceau was born in 1841, at Mouilleron-en-Pareds in the "Bocage Vendean" not far from Fontenay-le-Comte. Vendée is a French Province where feelings over political convictions and their struggles have always run high. During the French Revolution

the Vendeans rebelled, taking arms against the Republic. They were divided into two parties, the Whites and Blues, the former being Royalists, the latter Republicans. Clemenceau is a Vendean Blue. He has inherited his strong love of politics and the combative instinct from his native soil.

His father, a village physician born in 1811, was full of memories of the Great Revolution. He handed them down to his son, so that one generation only separated Clemenceau from the old Vendean Blue, his father, which goes far to explain certain traits of his political character and personal temperament.

After having graduated as a Doctor in Paris, where his youth was spent in the Latin Quarter, he went to London and from thence to America where he passed some years, and where he married. He knows America well, and has always followed American politics with the keenest interest.

When he returned to Paris at the end of the Second Empire, he flung himself into the political struggle then going on, with all the ardour of his passionate nature. During the siege of Paris and the Subsequent period of the "Paris Commune" he was Mayor of Montmartre. Immediately after the Franco-Prussian war he was made a Deputy to the French Chamber from Paris and he voted against peace, and for the continuation of the war. He was reelected Deputy for Montmartre in 1876.

From that time dates the first period of his political career; he became leader of the radicals, the most dangerous, the most brilliant leader the opposition ever had to contend against. He founded a paper called "La Justice." His influence as an orator and journalist daily grew. For more than twenty years he was known as "the Great Demolisher" of ministries and cabinets. His writings and speeches all bore the imprint of his abrupt and vigorous nature. His was a tongue that lashed, and a mind that carried all before it in its own headlong impetuosity.

It would be unfair to believe that this part of Clemenceau's life was merely destructive and negative. He was no doubt responsible for the downfall of many ministers, but they were for the most part men who scarcely deserved a better fate.

Clemenceau from the first made a determined stand against Colonial expeditions. He may have been at times somewhat lacking in comprehension and foresight in assuming that attitude; but that anti-colonial mind was derived from two sources. First of all the conviction that sooner or later France would be called upon to fight against Germany, and needed therefor to maintain intact all her resources in men and money. Secondly, that French colonial ambition would to a dead certainty, lead to rivalry with England, "and all for the benefit of the King of Prussia."

One may criticize that anti-colonial attitude, but it reposed on a logical basis and formed a political doctrine to which Clemenceau has tenaciously stuck throughout his long career.

A political adventurer, General Boulanger, who tried to exploit the French nationalist feeling, found his most formidable opponent in Clemenceau. More than any other, Clemenceau succeeded in showing up one who was in reality but a false "great" man, getting him out of French politics for the greater good of his country.

During the Boulangist fever as well as during the Dreyfus affair, Clemenceau proved a redoubtable polemist, gaining fervent admirers, but also bitter enemies.

Great fighter that he was, he ignored the arts of circumspection. He struck with all his might, never doing or saying things by halves. His enemies united against him; cabals and coalitions were formed to combat his influence. Influential newspapers like the "Petit Journal," (whose editor, Ernest Judet, was convicted during the war of being a German agent), spent enormous sums of money in their efforts to ruin him. In 1893 they at last succeeded in expelling him from Parliament.

Clemenceau was no longer a Deputy, but his indomitable energy was not in any way diminished.

He no longer owned a daily Newspaper, but at once began a new life as a political, philosophical, and even dramatic writer.

From that period date most of his books: *La Melée Sociale; le Grand Pan,* (a novel); *les Plus Forts,* (a short play); *le voile du Bonheur* which was produced at the Renaissance Theatre in 1901. Therein may be found Clemenceau's philosophical doctrines, his conception of politics and of life.

At its very outset Clemenceau threw himself body and soul into the Dreyfus affair. As editor of "L'Aurore" he played a very prominent part in that political and judiciary drama. In a series of daily articles, which have since appeared in book form, Clemenceau not only showed his brilliant qualities as a debater, but also his innate love of justice, his philosophical mind, his idealism.

In 1902 he re-entered the political domain, being returned to Parliament by the Department of the Var. That election forms another landmark in his well-filled existence. It might be termed: Clemenceau *versus* Germany.

For more than 15 years he found an outlet for his superabundant energy in preparing for a more and more probable German aggression. He felt that imperialistic Pan-Germanism was a growing danger for republican and pacific France. He contributed more

than any other to opening peoples eyes to that danger. He awakened and goaded the public mind to action.

In 1905 came a direct menace from Germany to France when the Kaiser landed in Tangiers and uttered solemn threatening words. He was blackmailing France so as to punish her for the agreement she had concluded with England in the previous year. During that critical time Clemenceau carried on an admirable campaign in the columns of his paper—"l'Aurore." His articles vibrated with patriotic feeling and enthusiasm, greatly fortifying public opinion. One of those articles ended with this short and pithy sentence, very characteristic of the writer, "Germany is offering a yoke to France, but the yoke is not fitted for the neck! Yoke or neck, one or the other must be broken."

His articles, his speeches, all rallied public opinion. He was made a Minister for the first time in 1906 at the age of 65. The following year he was Prime Minister.

A few months after, an "incident" occurred with Germany over the "deserters of Casablanca." The German Consul in that town had publicly countenanced the desertion of soldiers of German nationality who had enlisted of their own accord in the Foreign Legion. A long campaign of lies and calumny had been poisoning German public opinion about the

irritating question of the Foreign Legion. Very serious consequences might have resulted from that incident, but Clemenceau with a provoking firmness resisted all the German pretentions. He brought indisputable documents to bear upon the matter openly refuting the German charges, and proving that German agents in Casablanca had been guilty of abuse of power. The German Government was forced to yield.

In 1911 a crisis of still graver consequence arose:—the Agadir Affair. Caillaux was Premier at the time, and Clemenceau sided strongly against him deeming the concessions made by France to Germany, excessive and imprudent.

Towards the end of that crisis, when the final agreement between France and Germany was about to be ratified by the French Parliament, I remember visiting Clemenceau in his little apartment in rue Franklin. He was exceedingly violent against Caillaux and "his excessive weakness in face of the German pretentions." I remember his saying to me, "I would rather cut off my hand than sign such an agreement."

Clemenceau was convinced that Caillaux had acted with great feebleness. On the other hand German public opinion thought that its Government had made too many concessions to France. The whole of the

military party with the Crown Prince at its head declared that Germany had been greatly humiliated. Armaments were increased in Germany by leaps and bounds, two new army corps were added to the army which was already the most powerful in the world; war preparations were feverishly pressed. When all was ready the assassination at Sarajevo afforded Germany the pretext she wanted, and war was declared.

For more than three years the successive cabinets of Viviani, Briand, and Painlevé, directed that war in France. Clemenceau was not sparing in his criticisms of them. However hard and severe those criticisms may have seemed they were not unjustified. There is no denying that grave errors had been made, the Allied Governments both at home and abroad were not fully enough imbued with the true war spirit. Nothing was harder to acquire than the right spirit toward the war. It may be said without exaggeration that the average politician scarcely realized what it meant. At the beginning of hostilities the majority of them believed in letting the soldiers fight, and the civilians watch the soldiers fight. Whereas the true war spirit was just the opposite. In other words, the whole of the nation, soldiers and civilians should all be engaged in the war; that all their energies, all their resources, moral and material, should strain towards one end.

Clemenceau was the first to grasp that truth.

The more critical the situation, the greater Germany's chances for winning the war became, and the more public opinion in France turned towards Clemenceau as to the only man capable of rescuing his country in her hour of danger.

In September 1917, on my return from the Russian front where I had been sent as a French officer, I called on Clemenceau. Everyone expected that President Poincaré, would shortly send for Clemenceau and ask him to form a Government.

I gave Clemenceau a detailed account of the state of things in Russia. I told him that the Russian Army was completely done for, and that in a few months, perhaps even in a few weeks, Russia would make peace with Germany.

"I know all that," said Clemenceau, "I am going to take over the Government under very difficult, almost desperate conditions. But my country and our Allies have not yet fought to the utmost of their strength. They have not yet made the *supreme* effort, for it has never been asked of them! If I take over the reins of Government I shall exact that effort of my country, and I am convinced that she will respond. Every available man shall be sent to the front. That is the only way to win the war, and we mean to win the war."

It was a magnificent and impressive sight, one of the most touching I have ever witnessed; to see that wonderful old man, worthy of the great revolutionary epoch itself, uttering those subline words of hope and energy.

The most extraordinary part of it all was, that he did exactly as he had said he would do.

Like the great revolutionary leaders from whom he was directly descended, he realized that before striking at the enemies abroad, he must strike at those at home. He waged relentless war against the "Defeatists," striking at their head, who was Caillaux.

It required great pluck, all the audacity of the combative instinct, to dare attack Caillaux. He belonged to a parliamentary group of Radical-Socialists, which since the elections of 1914 had become the most influential in the Chamber of Deputies.

Caillaux's imprudence, his conduct in the Argentine Republic at the beginning of the war, and later in Italy, almost amounted to criminal offenses. But it was hazardous to declare, and difficult to prove, that they were criminal actions and violated articles of the Penal Code, as such, coming within the jurisdiction of a Court of Justice.

In time of peace Clemenceau might have had some hesitation about imprisoning Caillaux, but France was at war; she was engaged in a terrific struggle, a strug

gle for life or death upon whose issue her very existence was staked.

Hence judicial scruples, lawyer's discussions, and magistrates tirades, counted for nothing with Clemenceau. The war had to be won. Caillaux, and all those who shared his opinions, were so many obstacles to its victorious continuation. Caillaux maintained publicly that victory was impossible, that it would be purchased far too dearly, that it was useless and even dangerous to go on with so desperate a struggle in the vain hope of ever winning it.

Without a moment's hesitation, with one bold stroke, Clemenceau removed that obstacle. He had Caillaux imprisoned, tried, and condemned.

From that moment everyone knew what to expect. It was an event that caused a great stir both at home and abroad.

It showed that France was using to the utmost its moral and material strength.

Clemenceau summed up that state of feeling in one of his terse, abrupt sentences, so characteristic of him: "I'm making war"! He would repeat it at all times. Meaning, that nothing outside that vast preoccupation of successfully carrying through the war, was of the slightest importance to him.

In acting thus, he was followed in the steps of the heroes of the French Revolution. It was another trait in his character recalling theirs.

Never did he show more indomitable energy, a more implacable will than in the spring and summer of 1918, just after Ludendorf's victorious offensive all along the French front. It was chiefly after the German victory of the Chemin des Dames on May 27th that the whole outlook seemed desperate indeed. For the first time since the beginning of the war, the French armies, that buckler of the Allied Forces, had received a terrible setback. One part of the front had been forced and a large breech opened that seemed a problem indeed for the supreme command of the Allies to fill in. In many circles in Paris, more particularly amongst the parliamentary ones, always easily alarmed, great despondency reigned.

Marshal Foch was criticized. He was blamed for having allowed his troops to be attacked by surprise, for having imprudently exposed the centre of his armies. Many clamoured for his dismissal.

It was during those most critical days that Clemenceau showed his greatest strength. The slightest wavering on his part, (we may own it now) and all would have been lost. Any alteration in the supreme command of the Allies might have spelled disaster. Clemenceau never wavered, never weakened. Summing up all his strength to brave the storm, he called upon England to send every available man they had to the front, and rushed up the American reinforce-

ments. Above all he took the part of Foch against all his detractors.

A few months later that energy received its reward. The war was won. It is to those weeks that history will refer when speaking of him.

What is the essence of that combative spirit, that unlimited confidence that rises above all weakness knowing no despondency?

Just as with the founders of the French Revolution, it is derived from a deep sense of patriotic feeling, and the idea that love of one's native land should predominate all else, that all man's possessions here below, even life itself, should be willingly sacrificed to country.

That is the essence of the doctrine dominating the French Revolutionists. Theirs was above all a spirit of self-abnegation and sacrifice. Individual man was of no account. The only thing that mattered was patriotism; the spirit which holds succeeding generations in one chosen spot of the Earth, labouring and struggling to hand down to future generations the sacred heritage of love of country.

When it attains to such imperious heights this spirit of sacrifice becomes one of purely religious feeling, capable of accomplishing miracles. Love of country in Clemenceau's eyes signifies love for a land

that is free, republican and democratic; here again can be traced the influence of his French Revolutionary ancestors. He is firm in the belief that a country like France which has for years endeavored to be governed by representatives, freely chosen, is more worth while than a country like Germany, that has allowed itself to be docilely, servilely governed by its rulers. The patriotism of the one is of higher, purer substance, than that of the other, for the simple reason that man's dignity is on a higher level in a free country, than in an autocracy.

The love and passion for struggle, the cult of liberty and democracy,—such are the chief points in Clemenceau's political doctrine.

His philosophical doctrines are borrowed entirely from the sages and philosophers of the last century, —Auguste Comte, and John Stuart Mill. Clemenceau is a positivist. He has the same faith in science that he has in democracy. But that positivism glows and radiates with the warmth of the idealism which is the predominant feature of the French statesmen who were the artisans of the Revolution of 1848.

They loved mankind; and were convinced that in spite of all, notwithstanding a thousand obstacles, mankind was ever tending towards a higher and better destiny.

There is a great deal of idealism in Clemenceau's

nature. Not to know that side of his character is not to know the real Clemenceau at all. It truly radiates in his deep sympathy towards all suffering humanity.

Clemenceau has expressed that philosophical turn of mind in one of his books, the finest he has ever written, called "Le Grand Pan." He heads the preface with the well known sentence taken from Renan's "St. Paul,"—"Life means giving one's blossom, then one's fruit; what more can it give?"

Clemenceau gives Plutarch's anecdote about the Grecian travellers who were sailing on the Ionian Sea when they heard, or fancied they heard, when nearing the Island of Paxos, the words reechoed again by the echoes "Great Pan is dead."

He sums up in these pages his whole conception of life, the outcome of all he has read, thought about, observed. He gives the impressions of his native Vendée, with its sea-beaten shores, where during his long life of ups and downs, he always returns to gain renewed vigor and strength. Leaving the country he turns to the city, particularly to Paris where he has spent so many years of his life, showing the city's landscapes, its dramas, its seamy side of life, with its prostitution, its police courts, scenes of Montmartre, the working men and women of its suburbs, its prisons, even its scaffold.

Clemenceau's whole world is to be found in this book.

* * *

I have insisted upon Clemenceau's political and philosophical qualities, it now remains to examine his defects.

No modern statesman can hope to accomplish a lasting work, can hope to be really great, unless he has mastered, at least to a certain extent, the problems of economics.

For it is the economic problems that govern the world. All its upheavals, its revolutions, its wars, inevitably end in economic solutions.

Now, Clemenceau belongs to a generation, to a formation of mind, that was almost totally ignorant of that subject. It appears almost non-existent to him.

Toward the end of the war, when victory seemed almost a certainty, he was implored to give his attention without further delay, to the solving of the terrible financial problems that could not fail to accumulate at the end of the war; reparations, inter-allied debts, etc.

With his customary abruptness Clemenceau dismissed the subject, saying, "I'm making war! I cannot be bothered with anything else! Let us first win the war, all the rest can be quite easily settled."

The Allies won the war.

Unfortunately for them, the peace, with its financial problems, was not so easily settled.

If at the present moment Europe is floundering amid a thousand difficulties of all kinds, it is partly owing to that negligence by Clemenceau of the economic questions of the world.

That ignorance, or rather disregard for the science of economics is not confined to Clemenceau alone. The same reproach might be made to all the other statesmen who collaborated with him in the drawing up of the Treaty of Versailles.

It is one of the great misfortunes of the present age. Every day sees economic, commercial, and industrial questions that outrank in importance the purely political or diplomatic ones. It was not so a hundred or even fifty years ago. The most important and essential points in the composition of a Treaty at that time were the limiting of the boundaries; the conferring of a province or town on a certain State. Nowadays the changing of boundary lines plays quite a secondary part, and by far the most important business is concerned with the economic relations between nations, their debts, their exchange, etc.

The most startling of paradoxes lies in the fact that all the great treaties drawn up after the greatest war of modern times, were negotiated and compiled accord-

ing to the old methods of fifty and even a hundred years ago. Experts and technicians were no doubt consulted upon the matter, but in addition to the fact that many were chosen on purely political grounds, without regard to their professional capacities, their advice was often discarded when dealing with questions of the most vital interest to the world at large. The most important decisions were often made by the statesmen themselves, who were ill fitted, both by temperament and training, to deal with the intricate problems they had to solve.

* * *

Clemenceau is a great writer and in his own way, a great speaker. Both his style and eloquence bear the imprint of his peculiarly combative temperament.

By far his best articles were written in the heat of controversy, during the Dreyfus affair, for instance, when dealing with home affairs; in the Franco-German crises, when dealing with foreign ones.

He was one of the men who, during the Dreyfus affair, contributed most towards the final triumph of justice and truth, throwing himself body and soul into the fray.

For years he was always on the war-path, always ready to attack, alternately aiming terrible blows, now to the reactionary "Right," and, now to the socialist "Left."

The same is true of his oratorical powers. He cannot control himself, but must carry all before him, and grapple with his enemy. Always he must fight someone, or demolish something.

Humor and wit are favorite weapons of his. He is a past-master in the use of both. His witty sallies and sayings are always made on the spur of the moment, and pass into proverbs. They are terrible thrusts, often ferocious, often cynical.

The witty humorous side of his character is very pronounced. It is what adds so much spice to his conversation, so much charm to his manner.

* * *

When one studies the lives of French Statesmen throughout the centuries, one notices that they may be divided into two distinct categories. On the one hand the men who used to be known as the "Legists," in other words, men of juridical tendencies and training; on the other, the men of action and fighting instinct.

Poincaré admirably illustrates the first type of man; no one could better represent the second than Clemenceau.

It would be difficult indeed to find two men more diametrically opposed, whether in mind, habits or temperament.

The first is cold, even of freezing aspect, precise, fastidious and dry. He never leaves anything to chance. When he undertakes to do a thing, he studies it; compiles volumes about the matter, piling up notes more often than not, all done in his own hand-writing.

Those are the qualities, the methods of work, of lawyers who have a perfect passion for accumulating written documents, drawing all their arguments from them, and never formulating an assertion unless able immediately to produce the written proof thereof.

Clemenceau has, on the contrary, the most supreme contempt for the lawyer's written documents, arguments, and methods. He looks upon their jargon as perfectly useless, if not dangerous. For him nothing is of any account save mankind and life, the essential point being to remain in close touch with both. What is the use of burdening oneself with piles of documents that only serve to complicate matters without really helping to find a solution for them? One must rise above such trivial things, such mere detail, and view matters from a higher plane, and when difficulties arise, settle them man to man, after interviewing the chief person concerned.

That was Clemenceau's method during the Peace Congress. It was likewise Lloyd George's, who also professes to share the former's horror for bundles of papers and documents.

That was one of the reasons why, in spite of inevitable friction and discussion, these two men get on so well together. They have striking resemblances of character. Both have the same spontaneity, are quick and even impetuous. Neither is given to being fastidious nor heeding formalities. Both go straight for the obstacle, trying to overcome it after their own fashion, discarding all else. That disregard for documentation and notes was not without causing serious inconvenience. It was responsible for irresolution, forgetfulness and much disorder. For example, no minutes, or official reports were kept of the many meetings of the Council of Five (Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson, the Italian and Japanese representatives) where the gravest interests of the world were settled. Which means that there remains no trace of them now. It was Penelope's web all over again, the work done the day before often running the risk of being all undone the next day!

A man like Poincaré has a distinct horror for such methods, or rather the lack of them. That is why he could never get on with Lloyd George. No sooner did he come into power than he made it clear that he intended substituting an exchange of notes, the traditional procedure of Diplomacy, to these erratic conferences that periodically took place in France, England and Italy. That simple proposal provoked Lloyd

George's anger, for he detests anything in the shape of a note, and still more anything resembling a Diplomat.

Poincaré, who is above all, a Jurist, has an inborn respect for all that is formal, precise, and constitutional.

As President of the Republic during the war, he often deeply deplored the strict limitations of his powers as Head of the Nation, bound by the tradition of French Law, that prevents any encroaching of the President upon the prerogatives of the all-powerful Cabinet. He deplored it, but accepted it, not as has been unjustly said, through weakness of character, but simply because he did not think it right to act otherwise.

The Law for him is the Law. It is a sacred obligation. The Head of the State like other citizens, even more so than others, ought to respect it.

It must be frankly admitted that a man like Clemenceau would not let any such scruples embarrass him. He would have swept them aside; taking the liberty of actually wielding a power that it was not his legally to do. He showed that plainly when he had Caillaux imprisoned.

Public opinion, that had during the war felt the necessity for a strong government, would most certainly have let him do as he wished.

Nothing proves, however, that once the war over, it would not have rebelled.

What happened to Clemenceau at the time of the Presidential elections when he was defeated by M. Deschanel, plainly showed what would have happened. The majority in the House voted against him, chiefly because, (apart from all other reasons of electioneering intrigue) Clemenceau's somewhat scornful refusal to frankly stand for the election shocked a certain number of Deputies and Senators. He had seemed to put himself above all forms and ceremonies, implying that he considered himself indispensable and therefore not needing to stand for the election.

Parliamentary people all the world over, hate the indispensable man. When, called to power by exceptional circumstances, such a one does appear upon the scene, they never fail to get rid of him as soon as things return to normal.

That is what happened with Clemenceau.

* * *

Men of the Clemenceau stamp are made to rule in moments of exceptional stress. They govern with an iron hand, being far less preoccupied about the means employed, than the results obtained. Something must be accomplished at any cost. It is not of the slightest importance to them that, to achieve their ends, they are obliged to act in diametrically opposite fashion to custom, tradition, and even the law itself.

It is because men of that stamp appear at the opportune moment, that their country emerges victorious from a great crises.

It is the fashion just now for people to laugh at and criticize Democracy, to speak slightingly, even scornfully of it.

They talk about the failure of the Parliamentary system, of universal Suffrage, etc. Democracy no doubt is not free from faults. It is not, to be sure a perfect form of government. It is, however, the best that has as yet been found, or rather, the least objectionable up to now. One of the great advantages of such a regime, one of its vast superiorities over the system of monarchical rule is that it produces great leaders who save their country in its hour of need.

In the United States there was Lincoln, in France, Clemenceau.

GENERAL JAN C. SMUTS

1870–

IDEALIST STATESMANSHIP

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IDEALIST STATESMANSHIP

By ALFRED G. GARDINER

IT IS a remarkable phenomenon that the man to whom the British Government and the British Empire have looked for a long series of military and diplomatic services during and since the War should be the man who was one of the most resourceful and daring enemies of Great Britain during the Boer War of 1899 to 1902. The reason for the change in his attitude has often been powerfully stated by General Smuts himself.

Speaking in London at a South African luncheon in October, 1923, General Smuts said: "Small and comparatively unimportant as we are among the nations of the world, we have yet a rich and unique experience in the sort of trouble through which Europe is now passing. We also had our age-long contention between the white races in South Africa, which culminated in a great war, with all its horrors of loss and suffering. We also had our devastated

area, which covered not merely a small strip of our own land, but practically the whole of the interior of South Africa. Defeated, broken, utterly exhausted, my little people also had to bow to the will of the conqueror. But it was not an impossible peace. The war was not continued in another form after the peace. The Boers were not treated as moral pariahs and outcasts. Decent human relations were re-established, and a spirit of mutual understanding grew up. The human atmosphere improved until in the end simple human fellow feelings solved the problems which had proved too difficult for statesmanship.

"Four or five years after the conclusion of the war a new settlement was come to, based on mutual trust and friendship between the races. And South Africa today is perhaps the most outstanding witness in the realm of politics to the value of a policy of give and take, of moderation and generosity, of trust and friendship, applied to the affairs of men. What wisdom and moderation could achieve in Africa they can also achieve in Europe. Let us have faith in the great human principles and values, and our faith will not be brought to confusion. Human nature is the same in all continents, and what could be done for the descendants in Africa can surely also be done for the parent peoples in Europe." (Cheers.)

General Smuts brings to the European problem

other things beside this fundamental experience. He brings a trained legal mind, superlative courage, and a complex and, on the surface, contradictory mixture of human sympathy and cold, deliberate judgment. Intellect is the controlling partner in his case, and, as there is nothing which the average man suspects more than intellectual strength, General Smuts has not been without enemies in his brilliant career.

Jan Christian Smuts was the son of a Dutch farmer in the Malmesbury district of the Cape Colony. When he was eight years old the family were established on a grain farm at Klipfontein. Until he was twelve he ran wild on the farm, helping with the poultry, the cattle and the horses, and then was sent to school in Riebeck village. He rapidly made up for lost time, proceeded to Stellenbosch College, where on the occasion of an official visit from Cecil Rhodes, he was chosen to be the spokesman of the College. In due course he took a brilliant degree in the Cape University and won the Ebden scholarship, which enabled him to go to Cambridge University, England, to study law. He was entered at Christ's College, and there established a record by being placed senior in both parts of the Law Tripos in the same term. Then he won the gold medal and the George Long prize for Roman Law and Jurisprudence. At the

Middle Temple he was equally distinguished, and received in 1894 a special prize for constitutional law (English and Colonial) and legal history.

This hard mental training was to stand him in good stead when he came to one of the great tasks of his life, a share in framing the constitution of South Africa. But when he returned from England and established himself in Capetown at the Bar he was not at first particularly successful, and, like many another young lawyer, eked out his meagre earnings by journalism. At that time he was slight, delicate-looking, and his delivery was hesitating and diffident.

He entered political life as a supporter of Mr. Hofmeyr, who was then in close touch with Cecil Rhodes. His first important speech was made in the Town Hall at Kimberley in defence of the Glen Grey Act, which proposed to encourage the native to work by remitting taxation to those who did. He maintained the contention, familiar enough in the Transvaal but not then popular in the Cape Colony, where it was regarded as retrograde, that there could be no sort of real equality between the white and black races. "Unless the white race closes its ranks," he said, "the position will soon become untenable in the face of the overwhelming majority of prolific barbarism."

It must not be supposed that Advocate Smuts was anything but a keen Afrikander because he spoke in favour of the proposals of Mr. Rhodes, for Rhodes was at that time in close association with the Dutch leaders. When the Jamieson Raid came the young Dutch advocate felt the defection of Rhodes intensely and bitterly, left the Bar at Capetown, and went to Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, to practise there. He did not take part in any of the famous cases of those years, but he won a considerable reputation. On the political situation he was silent. His disillusion had been complete and devastating. On general domestic questions he had no sympathy with the conservative views which dominated Het Volk, and found their expression in President Kruger. But when the issue between Chamberlain and Kruger was joined he took his stand unhesitatingly by his own people. He made a series of speeches throughout the Transvaal towns attacking Rhodes, and was marked out as one of the leaders of the Dutch resistance.

His age—he was only 28—prevented him from being made State Secretary in succession to Dr. Leyds, and it was only after President Kruger had imposed his views—as he knew how to do when he pleased—on a refractory Volksraad that young Smuts became State Attorney and the President's right hand man

in drafting the documents exchanged with the British Government in the quarrel which led to war. He also had something to do with the preparation of the indictment of British rule known as "A Century of Wrong," of which his opponents have since made great capital. In a passage in that book he called for a united South Africa under the Vierkleur flag. This was no part of the official policy of the Boer Government of the Transvaal, which wanted to be allowed to manage its own affairs and not to be bothered with a great "Uitlander" population such as that of the Colony and of Natal. But the truth is that Advocate Smuts belonged to the new generation. He saw even then that without unity South Africa was lost, and at that crisis the Vierkleur flag seemed to be a possibility, for the Raid and its sequel had alienated the Dutch people of the Cape Colony as well as those of the Transvaal and the Free State from English rule.

When war was declared the State Attorney left his desk and his papers and started for Ladysmith on a train which also conveyed some of the big Boer guns that were to be directed on that harassed city. From that day began his close association with General Botha—one of the most fruitful collaborations of our time. Botha had the large and simple humanity, the breadth of appeal, the power of inspiring confidence. Smuts had quick intuitive intelligence and a vast ca-

pacity for hard brain work. It used to be said in later days that Botha sat all day before a clean sheet of blotting paper, while General Smuts's desk was loaded with a mountain of papers and blue books.

Both men had courage in a remarkable degree. General Sir Ian Hamilton says of General Smuts: "Smuts has the double dose of courage; the strategical courage which conceives and the tactical courage which executes. Smuts, of all others, was the man who urged old Joubert to storm Ladysmith, an operation which, because Joubert delayed it too long, broke itself into fragments against Caesar's Camp and Waggon Hill." And, describing his later exploits in the war, he says: "Always on the offensive, always for the attack when a fair chance offered; resourceful he is, persuasive and full of ideas. But it is his courage which makes the man—his sheer courage." Nevertheless his valour was tempered with the wariness which British soldiers learned to associate with Boer mentality, and which he owed to his Dutch parentage and traditions. In the early days of the war Botha, De Wet and Delarey were the names which the English learned to know and to hear with some apprehension. Presently a fourth began to attract notice, that of Jan Smuts, a young man of 30. "Keep your eye on Smuts," said one who had known him at Cambridge. "He is one of the most brilliant men of

the new generation—lawyer, philosopher, man of letters, man of action, subtle, far-seeing, fearless. He will be dangerous. He will go far."

Events proved the accuracy of the forecast. His operations in the Western Transvaal and his raids into Cape Colony itself were conspicuous among the later features of the struggle. He had many narrow escapes in the Transvaal. When he obtained permission to raid the Colony he slipped across the Orange River in company with other columns. At Tarkastad, surrounded by the British forces, he rushed the 17th Lancers, and fought his way through. His column continued to exist by being constantly on the move. No one ever knew where it was going to turn up next. One of its records was 700 miles in the space of five weeks. It was he who, in an attack on a British armoured train made Mr. Churchill prisoner. He himself described to me that dashing episode—how he noticed a "fiery-headed youth" who seemed the soul of the defence, how when the battle was over and the train was captured that same fiery-headed youth came to him and claimed the privileges of a war correspondent, how he firmly told him that he could not have it both ways, that he had been the cause of all the trouble and must take his share of the penalties. "And now," he said, "I have been to the Colonial Office to see my prisoner of other days and talk over the time when we fought on the veldt."

At a luncheon given in 1917 in the gallery of the House of Lords to General Smuts, Lord French was one of the speakers. "I prefer to choose," he said, "as an illustration of his military genius, that part of the campaign of which he had the sole responsibility, and in which I had the best reason to feel and appreciate his power and ability as an opponent. 'If you be a great general,' said Sulla to Marius, 'come and fight me.' 'If you be a great general,' replied Marius to Sulla, 'compel me to fight you.' I say, without hesitation, that day after day, week after week, month after month, our distinguished guest, with every disadvantage in the way of numbers, arms, transport, equipment and supply, eluded all my attempts to bring him to decisive action, and impressed me far more than any opponent I have ever met with his power as a great commander and a leader of men."

General Smuts replied by telling a story of a narrow escape from Lord French's attentions. "On one occasion," he said, "I remember, I was surrounded in a nasty block of mountains by Lord French. I was face to face practically with disaster. Nothing was left for me but the most diligent scouting to find a way out. I did some of the scouting myself, with a small party. I ventured into a place which looked promising and which bore the appropriate name of Murderer's Gap. I am sorry to say I was the only

man who came alive out of that gap. At night I came out of the mountains to the railway. It was a very dark night, and my small force was on the point of crossing the railway when we heard that a train was coming. The train passed, and we stood alongside and looked on. Later we heard that Lord French was in that train. He might have been my guest and a very embarrassing guest too."

But if he was a fearless and ingenious leader of guerilla warfare he remained the man of hard thinking and hard study, so that during the difficult early years of the peace he was just as much a pillar of his country as in war. When further resistance was hopeless in face of the overwhelming strength of the British forces and the leaders met at Vereeniging to make an end of the war General Smuts addressed that conference in moving words. He said:

"Comrades, we decided to stand to the bitter end. Let us now, like men, admit that that end has come for us, come in a more bitter shape than we ever thought. For each one of us death would have been a sweeter and a more welcome end than the one we shall now have to face. But we bow to God's will. The future is dark, but we shall not relinquish our courage and our hope and faith in God. No one will ever convince me that the unparalleled sacrifices laid on the altar of freedom by the Afri-

kander people will be vain and futile. The war of freedom for South Africa has been fought, not only for the Boers, but for the whole people of South Africa. The result of that struggle we leave in God's hand. Perhaps it is His will to lead the people of South Africa through defeat and humiliation, yea, even through the valley of the shadow of death, to a better future, and a brighter one."

The close association formed with General Botha in the field continued in peace, and during the years that followed General Smuts was Botha's right hand man and lieutenant. General Botha bore a great name in the world; he made a more direct appeal to the mind; his was a simpler and more engaging personality. But he himself would have been the first to admit his intellectual debt to General Smuts. The position was a very difficult one. There was one issue which dominated other domestic questions at that time—Chinese labour in the mines. But the English Government would not listen to the protests of the Boers; Lord Milner believed the mine owners when they said that without that labour the gold mining industry of Johannesburg would perish.

When Mr. Chamberlain visited Pretoria in 1903 General Smuts was put up as the Boer spokesman. Addressing the Colonial Secretary through an interpreter he dwelt on the loyalty of the Boers to author-

ity. "We now come to our new Government," he said, "and offer them our loyalty, but we ask them again to think what we have been, that we have been a free people, the freest in the world." But for the most part, General Smuts, who had resumed his practice in Pretoria as an advocate, kept silence. When Botha, Delarey and Smuts were offered seats in the nominated Legislative Council of the Transvaal they refused. They did not choose to place themselves in a position where they would be held partially responsible for a government they could in no way control.

So they went quietly to their tasks and Smuts, to quote the words of a much quoted letter, "read the Critique of Pure Reason and watered his roses." His home outside Pretoria was, and is, a very happy one. The family tie is a strong one among the Boers, and General Smuts is a son of his race in this as in other respects.

As long as his father lived he was a constant visitor to the old home. Before the war he had married a Miss Krige of Klipfontein, but during the whole of the Boer War General and Mrs. Smuts met only once, at Standerton. She was not interned, but was allowed to retire to Natal. When they returned to their home they found it intact, but it had been used for quarters for the officers and soldiers of the British Army, and General Smuts would show where the leaves of the

books of his valuable library had been torn out to serve as pipe lighters. Since those days he has built himself a new house at the top of a kloof, a simple place on bungalow lines with a wide stoop. There he has a farm which is a model of its kind, though without any kind of elaboration.

This quiet life was not to last for long. In 1905 he went to London. It is generally stated that during this visit he convinced Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Asquith that the Dutch would be loyal to the British flag if self-government was granted. However that may be General Botha and he, after his return from London, began a campaign in the Transvaal on the subjects of Chinese labour and the domination of the mining magnates. This campaign was misrepresented in the British press, but throughout Smuts did as a matter of fact preach the doctrine of conciliation and cooperation between the two races which had been his text before the war broke out, and which was only interrupted by the war. When the first responsible Government was formed in the Transvaal in 1907 General Botha was Prime Minister, and Smuts was Colonial Secretary (home secretary) in his cabinet. One of their first pieces of work was the repatriation of the Chinese coolies employed in the mines, and they set to work at once on it.

On one point the Colonial Secretary did not succeed

entirely in imposing his will, and he never has quite succeeded. He could not overcome the difficulties with Mr. Gandhi and the Indian immigrants in the Transvaal. Eventually he made a compromise with the Indians already resident on the sound reasoning that you could not, if you would, imprison them all, and that therefore the only thing was to come to terms with them. But that controversy is still not healed, and the exclusion of immigrants from India to South Africa and to places where the South African Government has influence is one of the difficult questions which the recent Imperial Conference failed to solve.

But the cooperation between Botha and Smuts was most fruitful when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in the teeth of the opposition of Lord Milner, High Commissioner in South Africa, and in spite of the fears and misgivings of some of his own colleagues, decided to give self-government to South Africa. A constitution had to be drafted which would secure lasting peace and cooperation between the two white races, which would not affront the sturdy independence but would assuage the bitterness of the Boer population, and would yet not seem to the Britishers like a surrender to the late enemy or allow them to feel that an undue proportion of power lay in the hands of those enemies.

It was a hard task. The men who worked on that settlement included some of the best brains of South Africa. Among them were General Botha, Mr. Merriman, Dr. Starr Jameson, and M. de Villiers, the most famous of South African jurists, and others. But, by common consent, the honours rested with General Smuts.

In that immense work his acute and subtle brain was supreme. He was the intellectual inspiration of the Convention. There was no conflict that he could not resolve, no knot so hard that he could not untie it, no problem too delicate for his deft handling. The Convention would come to a dead impasse. Here was no way through, here the whole scheme seemed to fall to pieces. And, lo, General Smuts appeared next morning with his cunningly contrived solution, and once more the machine of negotiation rumbled forward, oiled by the large benignity of General Botha, its way made clear by the fertile and constructive genius of his lieutenant.

General Smuts had fought like a brave man to the bitter end for the cause of that nationalism in which he had been reared, but now that the end had come he accepted the consequences as boldly as he had resisted them before, and turned all the energies of his powerful mind to healing the wounds of war and to building up a South African confederation from

which all bitterness should be purged. He became the architect of a constitution which is held to be the best model of such an instrument the world offers; and in the stormy years of the European War and the subsequent peace he has worked it in circumstances of almost unparalleled difficulty with a wisdom and an inflexibility which have made the concession of self-government to South Africa the most shining chapter in the history of the British Empire.

Even at this time General Smuts was regarded with some suspicion in South Africa. He displeased the narrower Boer partisans because he had himself no exclusive nationalism and because his mind was not confined by party shibboleths. On the one hand, he was too liberal for an agrarian party, essentially conservative. On the other, he was thought by the English to be a dangerously clever man who might be playing some deep game against them. The memories of the Boer War were not yet effaced.

It was the task of the new Government of the Union to efface those hatreds and to foster a new national South African sense in place of the old provincial patriotism of the Cape Colony, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Natal. The process of fusion was accompanied by many setbacks. The first Cabinet of the Union with General Botha at its head, stood between a narrow Hertzogism on the one hand

and the extreme Unionists on the other, and General Smuts, who held the portfolio of Defence together with two others, was the man who had to devise the series of compromises necessary under the circumstances. Those compromises, as in the case of the education question in the Free State, were in the end generally assured through the great personal influence of General Botha.

At the end of 1912 General Hertzog was forced to leave the Government, and the hard-won unity of the Dutch Party was destroyed. He retained, as events were to show, a following among the "back-veldt" Boers, who continued to support his narrow and exclusive racial prejudices and exploited the circumstances of the war to offer armed resistance to the State.

Then there were acute Labour troubles on the Rand, accompanied by disturbances which bore a revolutionary complexion. These disturbances were put down with an iron hand. General Smuts asked the Governor General for the use of Imperial troops. The troops fired on the crowd. There were many casualties, and the interference of the military was followed by outrage and arson. The position was worse than ever when on July 5, 1913 Generals Botha and Smuts rode into the town without an escort, and met first the mine owners and then the miners'

leaders. One of the men, afterwards deported, says that he threatened the two generals with death at the point of the revolver if another shot was fired in the streets. But Botha and Smuts were not the men to be terrified with threats. In any case a "treaty" was signed, and the riots ceased.

It was a patched-up peace, and in January 1914 there was a strike on the railways which threatened the security of the country, and the miners came out again. A general strike was called. Again General Smuts went to Johannesburg. General Delarey was instructed to turn his guns on the men's headquarters, and they surrendered. The leaders were arrested and deported. The defence for this summary action was the danger of revolution in the presence of a large native population, but there was more than a little uneasiness in many quarters at the methods adopted. In the long arguments in Parliament which followed the Minister retained his cool and bland manner and got his Indemnity Bill. But Labour remained unpacified.

His main preoccupation during these early years was with the organization of defence. He held other portfolios, eventually shouldering the Treasury, but he was especially concerned with providing South Africa with an army which could be used for the defence of her frontiers. He consistently and sensibly

deprecated the establishment of a "tin-pot" navy, for he was too well-informed not to realize that the shores of South Africa could be protected by the Imperial Navy and by that alone. But he was determined to see a strong military force available against any possible invader; and the elaborate Defence Act which he carried through the Legislature and then administered resulted in the establishment of the force which proved so efficient in the World War.

While many domestic questions were still unsolved came the news that the Empire was at war. A large section of the political adherents of Botha and Smuts did not love the British Empire. They desired the impracticable; they wanted complete separation, and the war seemed to them to offer the opportunity for breaking the British connection. But the Prime Minister and his lieutenant were loyal in the spirit and the letter to the Constitution they had helped to make. For them the old animosities were buried; their Government was a government within the Empire. Their wholehearted acceptance of the British case was never in doubt. General Smuts's opportunity for plain speech came when one of the Boer generals, General Beyers, asked to be allowed to resign his commission rather than go to fight for the Imperial cause in German South-West Africa. "I cannot conceive," Smuts wrote, "anything more fatal

and humiliating than a policy of lip loyalty in fair weather and of neutrality and pro-German sentiment in days of stress and storm."

In that spirit he maintained his support of the British Government, and undertook the task of driving the Germans from their position in South-West Africa and later from German East Africa. But it would be a mistake to assume that it was a sense of loyalty to an agreement alone which governed the thought and activities of General Smuts in those stirring years. His capacious mind had passed out of the narrow orbit of nationalism into the larger atmosphere of world ideas. He saw that in modern conditions a rigid nationalist isolation was an impossible policy, and that the easy yoke of the British Commonwealth offered the best security for the peaceful development of his country. I have reason to know, too, how largely his attitude during the war was influenced by his fear that a German victory would lead to the militarization of the African native. It is not difficult to conceive the feelings with which, having spent himself so ungrudgingly to avert that danger, he now sees vast tracts of the African continent converted into recruiting grounds for the French army, and the natives fleeing to the neighbouring territory to escape a service that, in Europe at all events, kills them like flies.

Before the year 1914 was out Maritz and De Wet were in open rebellion against the South African Government, and the Dutch were split in their allegiance. The rebels found a certain amount of support among the Boer farmers of the Free State and the Transvaal, especially among their old brothers in arms of the Boer War. It was not from the military point of view a difficult thing to crush the rebellion. The rebel commanders had not realized the difference in the means of communication since the War of 1899-1902; they had not allowed for the motor and wireless. And they had against them, not Imperial troops strange to the veldt, but Afrikanders who knew all the ruses of Colonial warfare. But the danger of outraging feeling among the Boers who remained loyal was very great, and the Government dealt gently, too gently in the opinion of some, with the rebels. In one case General Smuts acted with severity, and his action, justifiable by the ordinary laws of war, was very severely criticised. Joseph Fourie declined to surrender, and after an engagement in which there were several casualties, was taken prisoner by Colonel N. J. Pretorius. He was shot in the Pretoria prison on Dingaan's Day. General Smuts signed the death warrant, and was subjected to violent attacks in consequence. But in the majority of cases the leaders were amnestied.

The campaign which, after the suppression of the rebellion, Generals Botha and Smuts undertook in German South-West Africa was no easy one. It is true that the enemy forces were not great, but the advance to the capital, Windhoek, had to be made over a country almost devoid of water except for springs which had been doctored by the Germans, and in which the railways had been made impracticable. The long lines of communication made the expedition a hazardous one, but the campaign was planned with meticulous care by General Smuts and his tiny staff in Capetown, and it was crowned with complete success.

Early in 1916 the Government at home had the wisdom to ask General Smuts to take over the command in German East Africa when General Sir H. Smith-Dorrien was compelled to resign through sickness. This appointment of General Smuts to an imperial command, and his acceptance of the rank of lieutenant-general in the British Army marked a new step in an unprecedented career. The expedition to German South-West Africa had been primarily a South African affair. The expedition to German East Africa was not specifically related to South African affairs. It belonged to the larger stage of the war, and in accepting it the ex-Boer commandant became a British general *sans phrase*. He proved his belief

that the British Empire is one and indivisible, and that in serving that Empire anywhere he was serving his own country.

The campaign was a brilliant one. In seven months he was able to effect a task of which hardly a beginning had been made in the previous eighteen months. He had a force of 17,000 men under his command against a force of 7,000 Germans and 25,000 natives under the skillful command of General Lettow von Vorbeck. The Germans were well equipped, and were thoroughly acclimatised. General Smuts has himself written the story of that campaign in his despatches and in a preface which he contributed to General Crowe's book on the operations. He has spoken of the difficulties encountered, the wide, unbridged rivers, the forests untracked except by the elephants' spoor and the footprints of the native hunters, the malaria mosquito, the tsetse fly which destroys animal transport, the heavy rains which turned the rich cotton-growing lands into impassable swamps, the fierce heat of tropical Africa, and the constant presence of fever. His plan was a penetration of the colony, which is twice the size of Germany, by minor columns attacking from all parts of the compass, while he himself set out to attack the main German army in the neighbourhood of the Kilimanjaro range. The Germans there were strongly entrenched, and might per-

haps have resisted a frontal attack, but General Smuts sent a mobile force under De Venter to fall on their flank. This move cut them off from their hinterland, and General Smuts took the foothills of Kilimanjaro by surpise, and without great effort on March 8. Within twenty-four hours Von Vorbeck was compelled to abandon his fortified positions at Taveta, and began to move hurriedly towards the sea. De Venter was ordered to move South, and get astride the railway line, while General Smuts followed in the German rear. From that point the end was not in doubt. though the operations were prolonged for some months after that date. The closing work of the campaign was left in other hands, and General Smuts was summoned to England to attend the Imperial Conference of 1917. "It may be said," he writes, "that I expected too much of my men, and that I imposed too hard a task on them under the awful conditions of this tropical campaigning. I do not think so. I am sure it was not possible to conduct this campaign successfully in any other way. Hesitation to take risks, slower moves, more careful inspection of the auspices, would only have meant the same disappearance of my men from fever and other tropical diseases, without any corresponding compensation to show in the defeat of the enemy and the occupation of his country. Timid Fabian strategy would, of all,

have been the most fatal in this country and against this enemy."

Many people, having lived through the Dardanelles disaster and watched the deadlock on the Western Front, would have liked to see a European command given to General Smuts, and his subtle and ingenious brain pitted against Ludendorff's. That was not to be. Possibly his military reputation might have been broken on the anvil of the Western Front as many others were. We do not know. The service he was asked to render to the Allied cause was a different one. It was in the inner counsels in London as a member of the War Cabinet that he was called to serve. Nor was this all. He embarked on that great speaking campaign in which he sought to make clear to a tired people the moral issues of the war. With his appeals for steadfastness and courage, and his day to day exposition of the military situation in which he had the courage to face the facts, he combined a definition of war aims. He never lost sight of the fact that peace is the real end of war. He called the peoples to prepare the way for a "peace with honour, a lasting, fruitful peace for the sorely-tried nations of the world." These speeches were marked by vision, by far-sighted statesmanship, by ability to concentrate on the essential issues, and by moral strength. Delivered as they were in the darkest days

of the war they did as much as the speeches of any living statesman to sustain the endurance and the purpose of the nation by keeping before their eyes the great objects at stake, now, alas, lost to sight in the fog of the peace. They deepened our purpose and cleansed it. He had already behind him a record of great military and administrative services rendered to the Empire. But his mission then, and his mission at subsequent Peace Conferences, was to clarify our sense of the European situation.

For this he had the enormous advantage that President Wilson also possessed of an extra-European point of view. His mind was not warped by the secular antagonisms of the European peoples. What these men sought in the Covenant of the League of Nations was not a reshuffling of the cards on the European card-table, but a world peace "embracing all the nations and all the democracies of the world." Before he became President of the United States, Lincoln said that America could not remain "half slave and half free," and General Smuts knows, and has the eloquence and clearness of speech to make the world know, that Europe cannot remain half slave and half free, that the French conception of a Germany working under slave conditions for two generations for the payment of reparations would, even if it were practicable, mean the destruction of freedom through-

out Europe and the degradation of all its civilised ideals.

The first of his definite diplomatic tasks for the British Government was undertaken early in 1918. At that time Count Czernin, the Austrian Prime Minister, instructed Count Albert Mensdorff to go to Switzerland and there, in a neutral country, try to find out on what terms the Allies were prepared to meet not only the Austrians, but also the Germans with a view to discussing the terms of peace. General Smuts was commissioned to go to Switzerland to meet Mensdorff. That attempt at peace failed, for reasons which need not be discussed here. General Smuts in the end told the Austrian emissary that the time was not yet ripe for meeting the Germans. This "peace offensive," to use the war-time jargon, was followed by the great German military offensive on the West, which brought the Allied armies within measurable distance of disaster.

When at last hostilities ceased the path was clear for the peace-makers. General Smuts devoted himself to the close study of the means by which some scheme of world government might bind together the warring nations, and he sought to work out the details of a League of Nations which would effectively embody the ideals of President Wilson. He worked unremittingly on the scheme in private, and in public

he was its most eloquent advocate in this country His draft scheme of the Covenant appeared in the beginning of January 1919, and was substantially that eventually adopted at the Peace Conference. In that pamphlet he wrote: "The very foundations have been shaken and loosened, and things are again fluid. The tents have been struck, and the great caravan of humanity is once more on the march. Vast social and industrial changes are coming, perhaps upheavals which may, in their magnitude and effects, be comparable to war itself. A steadying, controlling, regulating influence will be required to give stability to progress, and to remove that wasteful friction which has dissipated so much social force in the past, and in this war more than ever before."

As a member of the peace delegation in Paris he exercised a constant pressure for a reasonable settlement. Had he been in authority in Paris instead of in a subordinate capacity, there cannot be any doubt in an informed mind that the history of the past five years would have been profoundly different; that instead of leaving President Wilson to be manacled and destroyed by more supple minds he would have co-operated with him in imposing a just peace, and that the tragedy of Europe which we are witnessing to-day would have been greatly modified if not entirely averted. As it is he shares with Mr. Wilson and Lord

Robert Cecil the lasting honour of having framed that Covenant of the League of Nations which still stands, however feebly and uncertainly, as the only hope of a reconstructed Europe and as the instrument for ultimately undoing the wrong done by the treaty of peace. He signed that treaty under protest, as the only means of escape from what he considered to be a worse alternative, the disruption of the Conference and the immediate collapse of Europe into unthinkable disorder; but he accompanied his signature by a public declaration that amounted to an indictment of the treaty—a declaration which, in the light of subsequent events, reads like a judgment on its authors, and which still embodies the only inspiration for the future. One passage from this memorable document will convey its spirit:

"The promise of the new life, the victory of the great human ideals, for which the peoples have shed their blood and their treasure without stint, the fulfilment of their aspirations towards a new international order, and a fairer, better world, are not written in this Treaty, and will not be written in treaties. 'Not in this Mountain, nor in Jerusalem, but in spirit and in truth,' as the Great Master said, must the foundations of the new order be laid. A new heart must be given, not only to our enemies but also to us; a contrite spirit for the woes which

have overwhelmed the world; a spirit of pity, mercy, and forgiveness for the sins and wrongs which we have suffered. A new spirit of generosity and humanity, born in the hearts of the peoples in this great hour of common suffering and sorrow, can alone heal the wounds which have been inflicted on the body of Christendom."

He urged that at the earliest possible moment the enemy peoples should be invited to join the League of Nations, and pleaded that a real peace of the nations should follow the peace of the statesmen.

This manifesto naturally aroused much criticism. Here was a member of the peace delegation who shared the responsibility for the treaty of Versailles and yet denounced it to the world. In further explanations made at Manchester he showed how to his mind the safety and prosperity of Great Britain itself depended on a sound European settlement. "The brutal fact," he declared, "is that Great Britain is a very small island on the fringe of the Continent, and that on that Continent the 70 million odd Germans represent the most important and formidable national factor. You cannot have a stable Europe without a stable settled Germany; and you cannot have a stable, settled, prosperous Great Britain while Europe is weltering in confusion and unsettlement next door." He went on to urge that Russia was a sick man for

whom healing must come from within, and he deprecated any interference from without. His advice was to leave Russia alone, to raise the blockade, to adopt a policy of friendly neutrality and Gallio-like impartiality to all factions in that distressed country.

There was much anxiety as to whether General Smuts could retain his power and influence in South Africa, where party spirit still ran high, when he spent so much time in Europe and in preoccupation with European affairs. For even after the Peace he was still kept busy in the great theatre of affairs. He was sent in 1919 by the Conference in Paris to Hungary, then under the "red" rule of Bela Kun, in order to report on the situation. In 1921 he went to Dublin to confer with the leaders of the Irish parties, and with the memory of the South African settlement always present with him, urged the Sinn Feiners to accept the British offer, to leave Ulster alone until such time as she should enter the Union of her own accord.

General Smuts is not one of those who would thrust on the British Empire a cast-iron constitution. He regards the British Empire no longer as a group of smaller nations revolving around Great Britian but as he wrote to Mr. De Valera, as a wide circle of great nations, each with its own individual character. Where their status or their rights in connection with

the mother country are in question they have their tribunal in the Imperial Conference, which is the Council of the League of the Nations of the Empire. And from his utterances in connection with the last Conference it would appear that he does not think the time is yet ripe for further plans for the closer political organisation which may yet be necessary.

In the matter of world politics they have representatives in constant touch with one another at Geneva on the League of Nations. It is sometimes objected by the other partners in that wider association that the British Empire is too heavily represented but it is common knowledge that there are very few questions which come up before the League on which the representatives of the British Empire preserve a united front.

General Smuts believes that the foundations of the British Empire are spiritual foundations. Speaking of the situation before he left this country in 1923, he said:

"It is an inspiring, I had almost said awe-inspiring, spectacle to see our great Commonwealth, or rather our League of Nations, gathering from the ends of the earth. Here in a tumbling, falling world, here in a world where all the foundations are quaking, you have something solid and enduring. The greatest thing on earth, the greatest political structure of all time, it has

passed unscathed through the awful blizzard and has emerged stronger than ever before. Why has it stood the test where so many others have failed and gone under? It is because in this Empire we sincerely believe in and practise certain fundamental principles of human government, such as peace, freedom, self-development, self-government, and the like. Other empires, founded on force, have passed away. Force is again being tried to-day as a principle by others, in spite of the lessons of the war. The result is a foregone conclusion. We, on the contrary, believe in certain great ideals of government and are practising them as best we can in a difficult world. South Africa, Ireland, Egypt, and India all bear testimony to the political faith which we hold and practise in the Empire. That is the faith which holds us together and will continue to hold us together while the kingdoms and empires founded on force and constraint pass away." (Cheers.)

There is no element of surprise in the fact that the proposals for rescuing Germany from the deadly grip which threatens her existence should come from General Smuts. The proposals which he had already put forward at the Imperial Conference were given to the public in a letter to the press before he left the country and in a speech which he delivered at a luncheon

given to South Africans in London. In this letter, dated Nov. 15th, 1923, he wrote:

"The reparations question is rapidly becoming a vast moral question. It is no longer a question whether Germany can, and shall, pay reparations, but whether Germany shall live or whether she shall become a gaping wound in the body of Western civilization. When we are faced with a situation so terrible we can but do our duty. And our duty is clearly to go forward even if France does not march with us." And as a way to the solution of the problem which is destroying Europe he proposed that Great Britain should call a conference of the Powers interested in the reparations question, including the United States, and that even in the unfortunate event of France's refusing to join, such a conference should still be held.

He asked that the Conference should be called upon to examine the liability of Germany with regard to reparations with a view to finality, that it should devise means of setting German finance in order very much as had been done on the case of Austria, and that it should consider how real peace should be made in Germany.

The speech in which these proposals are elaborated is perhaps the most illuminating and penetrating exposé of the European situation that has been delivered by any statesman of the first rank. It called

for a resolute, determined diplomacy, for courage in handling a situation nearly desperate. It broke the tradition in official quarters of saying nothing but smooth platitudes on the disastrous policy of France in the Ruhr and the degrading position of Great Britain in failing to make any effective protest against that policy.

"Four or five years ago," he said, "we were singing our songs of victory; to-day we are all marching to certain and inevitable defeat—victor and vanquished alike. The international chaos is growing. The economic and industrial structure of Europe is cracking in all directions. Weariness and despair are sapping the *morale* of the peoples. Military hysteria is sapping their depleted financial resources. Everywhere you see armed men, everywhere gigantic armies, even among the small new States which cannot possibly afford them. In spite of the disappearance of the German Army there are now almost a million and a half more men under arms than in August, 1914. ("Shame!") The black hordes of Africa have been called in to redress the moral and political balance of this mother-continent of civilization. ("Shame!") The human principles are everywhere derided and degraded. The standards of living for the peoples are everywhere sinking to lower levels. Famine for large numbers is not far off. Can we

continue much longer on this march to destruction, this pilgrimage, this crusade of suicide on which Europe has started? ("No, no!")

And in speaking of the Conference which should be called to consider how the destruction of European civilization should be averted he appealed to America to be a member of it and to carry her full weight. The appeal to the United States, he said, is not so much for material assistance as for moral support in this dark hour. "It is the lack of moral justice," he said, "which is Europe's undoing. The peoples of Europe have faith in America, they believe in her impartial justice, and they feel that without the reinforcement of her moral idealism Europe has no longer the strength to save herself."

This great and courageous appeal seemed as if it might arouse Great Britain to that "resolute and determined diplomacy" which he advocated. But the voice was forgotten in the hubbub of a general election in which the citizens of Great Britain were asked, not to strengthen the hands of the Government for the salvation of Europe, but to equip them with the power to build a tariff wall against the handiwork of Europe's laboring men.

As the result of the moral leadership which General Smuts established at the Imperial Conference in 1923 there was a widespread wish expressed that he

should be induced to remain in Europe. In referring to this movement I wrote in the London "Nation":

"The events of the past nine years have played havoc with the reputations of our public men. It is not an exaggeration to say that of all those who were prominent in the public life of the nation ten years ago not one has survived scatheless the tremendous ordeal of those years. . . . . Between them and the past in which they served their country with apparent success and with public approval, a great gulf is fixed, and for the tasks that lie before us the demand is for men who are free from complicity in the events that led up to the catastrophe, free from responsibility for the conduct of the war, and free from all part and lot in the enormous failure of the peace. It is because of this sense of disillusion and the demand for a new start with the new instruments, that the personality of General Smuts commands so much attention at this time amongst those who are most sensible of our deficiencies and most concerned to supply them from whatever quarter they may be available. The other day Mr. Garvin nominated General Smuts for the Foreign Secretaryship. Others have spoken of him as a possible British Premier, and everywhere the feeling is expressed or latent that in a time of such emergency as the present so conspicuous

a potentiality should find his field of service at the centre rather than at the circumference of things."

But his presence is required in South Africa. Since the death of General Botha in August 1919 he has been Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. The majority in the Legislature was not a large one, and it was feared that, without the presence of Botha, the electors might provide even less support for his successor. But in the election of 1921, the South African Party, which is a coalition of the old Unionist Party and of the following of General Botha, had 76 seats, against 41 for the Nationalists, 9 for Labour and one Independent. Although Labor is not numerically strong in the Union Parliament it is nevertheless powerful, and the working agreement between the Nationalists and the Labour Party, different in their aims as they are, has made constant watchfulness necessary. It is much more difficult for General Smuts to spend long periods in Europe than it was in the lifetime of General Botha.

But he realizes, as he has shown by his whole course of action during and since the War, that the trend of events is governed by the decisions taken in London, and it is certain that his cooperation will be given whenever it is humanly possible. He is still in the prime of life and anything seems within the scope of his possible achievement. In the variety of

his gifts, as in the extraordinary vicissitudes of his experience, he is the most remarkable personality in the British Empire today—statesman, law-giver, warrior, orator. In him thought and action are in perfect adjustment. His vision of the new order that is emerging from the chaos of the war is clear and sagacious, and his idealism is rooted in a hard practicality that carries with it the sense of conviction and authority. He is too complex and subtle a mind to go straight to the heart as Botha went, and for long he was regarded with some suspicion. His powers were apparent, but his purpose seemed obscure.

The suspicion did him injustice, but it was a tribute to a character far too spacious and cautious to be read offhand. There is about him a sense of wide intellectual hinterland where he does not exactly invite you to trespass and where you feel he is taking council with himself alone. His face, typically Dutch, is not revealing. The light blue eye searches you with a singularly penetrating gaze, but it does not easily yield up the secrets of that calculating, self-possessed mind. He loves letters, has, or had long ago, a passion for Whitman's poetry, is deeply versed in philosophy and the things of the mind and finds his deepest pleasure in the life of the country and of his own family circle. His emotions are real, but are under the discipline of the mind, and he yields to

no impulse either of fear, weakness or even human sympathy without the deliberate sanction of his judgment. He is friendly, but not expansive, loves a good story, is free from personal animus and in public speaks clearly and unaffectedly, without rhetoric but with real fervour and a governed emotion. His career is the most romantic story in contemporary history. His future is one of the world's capital potentialities.

CARDINAL MERCIER—THE MAN

1851-

PATRIOTISM IN THE CHURCH

CARDINAL MERCIER—THE MAN

PATRIOTISM IN THE CHURCH

By REV. THOMAS M. SCHWERTNER, O. P., S. T. LR.,
Editor The Rosary Magazine

THE great cataclysm of the World War threw up on the horizon of public notice many men whose names had been known previously only in restricted circles. And of these, none has loomed greater, or maintained his place in the popular heart more securely, than the Primate of Belgium, Desidere Cardinal Mercier. And the reason of this is not far to seek. For during those first fateful weeks of the war it soon went abroad like wildfire that the Germans, under Von Bissing, had intercepted and suppressed the Christmas Pastoral Letter which the Cardinal, as a good Catholic bishop, had sent according to his custom to his faithful children. It was without doubt a powerful and trenchant arraignment of the conduct of the Germans during their first weeks on Belgian soil. And because it was so unimpeachably

true it nettled the invaders all the more. During the long correspondence that ensued between the Cardinal and the German Governor, though the commanding officer lost his temper many times, the frail old man never flinched. He boldly threw in the face of the invaders the outrages that they heaped upon those men of peace, the priests, who of all others could have pacified the hearts and minds of a religious but excitable people like the Belgians. Writing to his fellow workers on Epiphany, 1915, he says, like an Egyptian high-priest calling out the faults of the dead monarch over his coffin:

"As a matter of fact on the evening of January 1st, and throughout the whole of the following night, German officers entered the presbyteries and carried off, or vainly tried to wrench from the priests' hands, the Pastoral, and in defiance of episcopal authority, forbade you to read it to your congregations, threatening you or your parish with the direst penalties.

"Even our dignity was not respected, for on January 2nd, before daybreak, at six o'clock, I received an order to go immediately that same morning and explain to the Governor General my letter to the clergy and people. The following day I was forbidden to give Benediction in the Cathedral at Antwerp. I had been forbidden to visit the other Belgian bishops.

"As a citizen, as a shepherd of souls and as a

member of the Sacred College of Cardinals, I protest, my dear fellow workers, that your rights as well as mine have been violated.

"Whatever may be alleged to the contrary, experience has proved that this Pastoral Letter has provoked no occasion for sedition, but on the contrary, it has contributed largely to the appeasing of the people's minds and to public tranquillity."

The famous Pastoral Letter of 1914 entitled "Patriotism and Endurance," is one of the noblest patriotic documents ever evoked by any war. Like his predecessor, Cardinal Frankenberg, who resisted in turn Austria, France and Prussia, and finally died in exile, whose "Declaration" is looked upon even today as one of the best statements of the Belgians' right to live out their national life in their own way; like Cardinal de Broglie, Bishop of Ghent, stout opponent even in exile of William, King of Holland and Napoleon, whose famous "Pastoral" is still read with a beating heart by the Belgians, Cardinal Mercier's "Christmas Letter" is not only vibrant with burning love of country, but sets forth the question at issue with that clearness and force which all were led to expect from a writer like him. Later on, in defiance of German ursurpation, and in vindication of his own episcopal rights, he sent other Pastoral Letters to his flock; one on September 26, 1915, entitled "A

Call to Prayer''; another on March 7, 1916, ''My Return from Rome''—in which he explained how he had sought to lay clearly before the Sovereign Pontiff the attitude of the Belgian Church toward the German invader—, another on October 1st, 1916, ''The Voice of God'', and still another during the Lenten season of 1917, entitled ''Courage My Brethren.'' In all of these official documents, as also in the vast correspondence which he carried on with the German authorities—which can be read in ''Cardinal Mercier's Own Story'' (George H. Doran Co., New York) he never whittled down his first contention—that German soldiers had absolutely no right on Belgian soil. He himself in an interview with the Governor General remarked, apropos of his opposition to their occupation of the country:

''You imagine that in our ministry we have no other ambition than to spare ourselves momentary worry and anxiety, or to win some immediate success. A thousand times, No! Utilitarianism, even socially, is not our ideal. If St. Paul had spoken like you, we should never have had St. Paul. We should possess neither his Epistles nor his example. If the theory, 'What is the good of that? What practical advantage do you hope to gain by that?'—if this theory, I say, had always prevailed, we should not have had the Catholic Church. It required three centuries of

martyrs to consolidate and propagate the idea that there is something higher than individual and national interests."

To these stinging words, the German Governor indignantly replied: "Oh, the martyrs—that is another matter!"

"By no means," replied the Cardinal; "fundamentally, it is the same thing. A martyr is not one who gives his life just for the pleasure of sacrifice; he is one who upholds an incontrovertible truth and makes himself its bondslave, even to offering his liberty and his life in its defense. It would have been easy for the martyrs to burn, perchance secretly, a few grains of incense before an idol. But this act, materially insignificant, yet for the moment very profitable to the doer, would have been an avowal that he had no absolute belief in the truth that he professed; and at once the eternal would have been reduced to the level of the transitory. When the Church was founded the truth preached was religious truth—the Gospel of Christ. Truth today is right, and the superiority of its kingdom over passing interests. In either case, there is antagonism between utilitarianism and the necessary triumph of absolute right—truth. Thus, I have nothing but contempt for those sophisms to which you in your recent correspondence—and with you certain theologians in

their utterances have had recourse, sheltering themselves behind the 'notwer' for the purpose of justifying the invasion of our country. It is no use to argue; it is no use to twist and turn; Germany has violated an oath, and it would be simpler to confess and to regret it than to strive by might and main to hide the truth."

The Germans were amazed by the Cardinal's attitude. They had not for a moment reckoned on such stubborn opposition at the hands of a helpless Churchman. They had never dreamed that men would gladly choose death rather than the dishonor of betraying their country in the least detail.

In his courage the Cardinal was lion-like. When those around him were fearful of the future, he never ceased to pour into them the red blood of valor. He challenged the Germans at every step. He fired the people with courage to give blow for blow for the sake of home and fatherland, even if it meant martyrdom. At least it could not mean dishonor! He refused to be put off with vague words about the murder of the Belgian clergy of the Diocese of Malines; he insisted upon knowing the truth regarding the detention of Belgian doctors and chemists by the Germans in Heidelberg; he vindicated the right of young men to attend religious services on Sundays; he was solicitous regarding the prisoners

awaiting trial in the military prisons of Malines and Louvain; he did not rest until he had the truth regarding the assaults committed by German soldiers upon the women, and even the nuns, of Belgium; he demanded that his clergy be allowed to preach the Gospel without secular dictation; he stopped the interference of the Germans in normal school teaching; he raised his voice until it rang around the world against the deportation of the Belgian unemployed; he laid at the door of the invader, when they tried to fasten the blame upon the Belgian farmers, the scarcity of food-stuffs; he spoke with all the vehemence of his nature against the partition of his native land; he multiplied himself in a thousand ways to ameliorate the condition of those Belgians who had been deported beyond the frontier. Finally, as the lengthening shadow of the retreating Germans fell across Belgium, the Cardinal did not hesitate to proclaim to all the world their last dastardly acts of inhumanity and impiety. As can be seen at a glance, there was not a single misdemeanor committed by the Germans in Belgium which was not held up ruthlessly to the moral condemnation of the world in words of such majestic calmness but damning truth, that Cardinal Mercier, more than any other individual, may be said to have turned the scales of the world's opinion in favor of Belgium.

It was a part of the inept war philosophy of Prussianism to lay the mailed fist upon Cardinal Mercier. It was a fatal blunder, politically, not only because he was entitled by reason of his exalted position to the greatest consideration, but also because of the peculiarly close relations existing between him and his people. From the moment when he ascended the archiepiscopal throne of Malines, February 21, 1906, he had endeared himself to their hearts devoting himself exclusively to everything that would promote the good of the fatherland. He was especially interested in the work of social reform, and in him the laboring man found his best friend. When Fr. Ceslaus Rutten, the Dominican, laid aside his monk's habit to work for six months in the mines, so as to learn at first-hand the real condition of the workingman, Cardinal Mercier became his warm friend and supporter, assisting him subsequently in the foundation of the Christian labor unions, called "*Syndicats Chretiennes*", numbering today more than 100,000 members. Early in the history of this movement the Cardinal had levied a tax upon all of his clergy for the purpose of alleviating the condition of the toilers. He had been an ardent champion of Christian teaching in the schools; he had set his face resolutely against the Socialists, whose golden promises he showed forth in their true colors; he

fostered in every way—though for a time men doubted it—the cultivation of the native, or Walloon language, believing that every nation should express itself in its own tongue; he was ever an ardent advocate of a sane and healthy press, and was one of the first modern Churchmen to distribute pamphlets as a means of enlightening the minds of the people on questions of actuality. To touch Cardinal Mercier, therefore, was to touch the sensitive heart of Belgium!

If the great Cardinal was practically unknown, outside of academic circles, to the Belgians when he was called to a position of trust in the Church, it was because most of his life had been spent behind college walls. Born November 22, 1851, in a small town called Braine l'Alleud, a few miles from the battle-field of Waterloo, he began to teach philosophy in the *Petit Seminaire* of Malines after his ordination in 1874, continuing there until 1882. During these years he gained a perfect mastery of the Flemish tongue and a working knowledge of English, Italian and Spanish. It was during these years, too, that he became enamoured of the philosophical teaching of that great prince of medieval thinkers, St. Thomas Aquinas. He was probably led to this by that ringing appeal of Pope Leo XIII in 1879 for all men to follow in the footsteps of the Angel of the Schools.

When this great Pope in the following year established a special chair of Thomistic philosophy in the Louvain University, it was to the Abbe Mercier—who even then had won his spurs as a thinker—that it was assigned in October, 1882. He soon made his mark in the literary world by his numerous writings, which appeared in many learned magazines—articles in which he gave every evidence of subtlety and profundity and absolute mastery of the systems of all thinkers from Aristotle down to Bergson and William James. He never dodged a difficulty; he never belabored an opponent, or misrepresented him. Those who have been most bitterly arrayed against him have always acknowledged his uniform fairness in argument. He was so convinced of the unshakable positions of Thomas Aquinas that he felt he could afford his opponents the advantage of stating their systems in the best possible terms. Many a time and oft, as the tall, gaunt professor, with the iron-gray hair, walked the tortuous streets of the city on the Dyle did he dream the dream of bringing Thomism more and more in touch with modern progress and scientific research. That he might have an organ for the expression of his views, he founded in 1892 the *Revue Neo Scolastique,* a bulky quarterly which has given forth the best and most original Catholic thought of a philosophical kind in the last

quarter of a century. Just what he dreamed his school of philosophy would achieve is set forth eloquently in "A Report on the Higher Studies of Philosophy."

"It is imperative, therefore, that in those different domains we should have explorers and masters who by their own achievements may vindicate for themselves the right to speak to the scientific world and to be heard by them; *then* we can answer the eternal objection that faith binds us, that faith and reason are incompatible, better far than by abstract principles, better far than by an appeal to the past: we can answer it by the stubborn evidence of actual and living facts.

"If we must devote ourselves to works of analysis, we must remember—experience has only too clearly shown—that analysis left to itself easily gives rise to narrowness of mind, to a sort of instinctive antipathy to all that is beyond observed fact, to positivist tendencies, if not to positivist convictions.

"But science is not an accumulation of facts; it is system, embracing facts and their mutual relations.

"The particular sciences do not give us a complete representation of reality. They *abstract;* but the relations which they isolate in thought *lie together in reality,* and are interwoven with one another; and that is why the special sciences demand and give

rise to a science of sciences, to a general synthesis, in a word, to philosophy.

"Sound philosophy sets out from analysis and terminates in synthesis as its natural complement. Philosophy is by definition a knowledge of the totality of things through their highest causes. But is it not evident that before arriving at the highest causes we must pass through those lower ones with which the particular sciences occupy themselves?

"At the present day, when the sciences have become so vast and numerous, how are we to achieve the double task of keeping *au courant* with them all, and of synthesizing their results? That difficulty is a grave and delicate one.

"Since individual courage feels itself powerless in the presence of the field of observation which goes on widening day by day, association must make up for the insufficiency of the isolated worker; men of analysis and men of synthesis must come together and form, by their daily intercourse and united action, an atmosphere suited to be the harmonious development of science and philosophy alike. Such is the object of the special school of philosophy which Leo XIII, the illustrious restorer of higher studies, has wished to found in our country, and to place under the patronage of St. Thomas of Aquin, that striking incarnation of the spirit of observation united

with the spirit of synthesis, that worker of genius who ever deemed it a duty to fertilize philosophy by science, and to elevate science simultaneously to the heights of philosophy."

During the first years of the *Institut Superieur de Philosophie,* and the *Seminaire Leon XIII,* as his school was called, there were but few students. There were, however, many perils and trials from weak and false brethren. But, unafraid, the young professor went on with his work. Whilst he exacted the most intense kind of application from his pupils, and allowed no one to aspire to any degree without first submitting a thesis of real worth, there was none who labored half as sedulously as he himself did. Living with a maiden sister in a small Flemish house just outside the University grounds, his was virtually the life of an ascete. On the second floor of the quaint building was the professor's workshop. As one entered the room, one had to pass four stately tomes of St. Bernard which showed frequent and careful use. St. Bernard and Dante have been the two great extra-philosophical heroes of Mercier. Once within the large room, one could see over the mantelpiece the favorite motto of the recluse in bold Gothic character, *"Labora sicut bonus miles Christi Jesu"* (Work as a good soldier of Christ). The floor was bare, the table was of varnished pine, with a crucifix

laid upon it, a large square deal table stood in a corner of the room, nailed down with books. There was a rickety arm-chair, an oil painting of his mother, a plaster bust of St. Thomas, a prie-dieu, in the room —and nothing else except books, thousands of books stacked up from floor to ceiling, on shelves made out of pine wood, without glass doors. His library evidently was meant to be used.

Mercier must have weeded out his library periodically, for one never saw a novel or a book in lighter vein. No author gained admittance to this retreat simply because he spoke "in the high-sounding words" of the stylists. It probably will furnish as evident an indication of the Abbe's taste as anything else to know that in his vast library there was only one volume of Cardinal Newman—and that the great Englishman's really philosophical work, "The Grammar of Assent". It was well worn with use and filled with notes in his own characteristic handwriting. In this workshop the professor spent his days all the year round, with the exception of three weeks in the summer, when he allowed himself a little relaxation. He was up every morning at five o'clock for his hour's prayer before Mass, which he celebrated at six. After his regular class work, he always hurried back to this quiet place, where he worked often until late into the

night, as the lamp shining from his window frequently betrayed.

The young professor did not believe in impersonal teaching. His students were always free to come to him and no amount of time was deemed lost so long as there was hope of clearing up a difficulty in some one's mind, or ironing out an ache in some one's soul. His daily walks he always took with his students. During his entire regime as superior of the *Institut* he preached a day's retreat, or *Recollection,* on the first Sunday of every month for them. He always appeared on these occasions with a small crucifix in his hands, and the one theme he was never tired of dwelling upon was *Soyez apotres*—Be ye Apostles. The apostleship he advocated was the odor of a good life and the spreading of the light of truth. When he was appointed Archbishop of Malines, it was only in consonance with his professorial career for him to choose for the device on his escutcheon, "*Apostolus Jesu Christi,*"

During the years of his professorship he published his class notes in lithograph. These were later on revised and expanded and published in French in five volumes, and have been translated into most modern languages. His volumes on Logic, Ontology, Psychology and General Criteriology have broken entirely new ground in Catholic philosophical re-

search. Whilst not despising the learning of the ancients, nor rejecting their guidance, he knew how to bring the most rigorously established conclusions of modern science into line with them. He has published also two works on psychology, "The Origin of Contemporary Psychology" and the "Relation of Experimental Psychology to Philosophy," and a unique work on language entitled *La Parole*. It is simply impossible to enumerate the number of magazine articles that came from his pen during these fruitful years, nor the critical reviews of books, which very often took on the nature of compact little treatises on the various subjects. All of these fugitive writings are eminently worth while, and some day, perhaps, some one of his pupils will see the advantage of assembling them in one place for the clarifying of the processes of human thought.

After his accession to the archiepiscopal throne of Malines, he delivered a course of sermons to his seminarians during their annual spiritual retreat. This volume, "To my Students," as also another volume of clerical sermons, "Retreat Preached to Priests," carrying the sub-title "The Inner Life," show him up admirably from the spiritual angle. They have sold by the thousands, have been translated into most modern vernaculars, and have won the highest commendation from two Popes. The Letters, Allocutions

and Pastorals which have come from his fecund brain since 1906 have been gathered together in five massive volumes which show him to be a real father to his spiritual children, ever on the alert to warn them of danger, to orientate their minds on the burning questions of the hour, and to encourage them to the living of a fuller spiritual life.

But this vast amount of teaching Cardinal Mercier has galvanized and made living for his priests and people by his own example of apostolic zeal. From the moment of his appointment as their Archbishop, his first thought was to get in close touch with them. Every morning at eight o'clock the doors of the palace were thrown open, and from that time until the noon hour—and often far beyond it—he could be seen moving among the crowds who had gathered, dispensing alms and fatherly advice. Each one was received exactly in the order of his arrival. No questions whatever were asked as to the purpose of his people's coming. Many times he has been known to go without food until evening, listening to important questions, or some tale of woe. Nor did he hesitate, when occasion demanded, to trudge out on sick calls, or to visit homes where dissension threatened to part husband and wife.

It is easy to imagine what this complete change of life must have meant to a man of his studious

habits. Like every good bishop, he was omnipresent in his diocese, which counts over two million souls. In order to multiply himself as much as possible, he was one of the first bishops of Christendom to make use of an automobile, seeing in this not a sinful extravagance, but merely the means of ministering more effectually to those members of his flock living in remote corners of his diocese.

Some years ago, while on his way to Antwerp, a little child suddenly ran across the road directly in front of his automobile. As there was not sufficient time to stop the machine, he shouted to his chaffeur to turn it into the stone wall that ran alongside the road. The result, of course, was a bad wreck, in which the Cardinal sustained a severe injury, the scars of which were distinctly visible on his thin, ascetic face when he visited America after the close of the war. The child escaped unscathed. In referring to this incident, he always said that it was much better that he should have met with an accident than that the child should have been even slightly injured!

In all his ecclesiastical works there is the unmistakable note of sincerity and holiness. Indeed, all Belgium looks upon him as a living saint. Those who have lived with him for years are one in testifying that though of a highly nervous temperament, he

has never been known to be peevish or irritable. The students with whom he shared his meals whilst he was a professor still speak of his abstemiousness and his rigorous observance of the Lenten fasts. His charity is proverbial. His zeal for the things of God is all-consuming. His kindness and consideration have never been known to fail.

I first saw Cardinal Mercier in the Fall of 1909, in the crypt of the Cathedral of Milan, where the body of the great archbishop of that see, St. Charles Borromeo, is still preserved on the altar, incorrupt. This glass shrine is opened up, and the body exposed, only for bishops whilst saying Mass. On this particular morning the Cardinal, who had just finished celebrating Mass, seeing me vesting, asked that the shrine be not closed, and himself deigned to serve me and to answer the prayers. Afterwards we walked about the Cathedral together, conversing familiarly. Even then I was lost in admiration of his kindness and urbanity toward an unknown, insignificant young priest who had not even finished his studies. Some years later, meeting him in Brussels, he recalled the incident distinctly, and mentioned some of the matters we had then discussed.

It was his kindness and his gentleness, no less than his willingness to get our American point of view, that endeared him to people of all creeds and

colors during those weeks when his going up and down our country was more like the triumphal march of a conquering hero than an ovation given to a stranger. During those days he never showed fatigue, never grew slack in enthusiasm for things American. Cardinal Mercier had in his younger days traveled a great deal in England, Italy, Germany and Russia. In those days he often talked of paying a visit to America also, being all the more anxious to do so because a maternal uncle, the V. Rev. Adrian J. Cloquet, had for years been laboring as missionary on the Grande Ronde Reservation in Oregon. This and the fact that when the Catholic University of America was established in Washington efforts were made to enlist his services as one of its professors accounted for his special interest in our country.

Those who saw him coming up the Bay on the day of his arrival noticed the eager light in his eyes —eyes that after those of Pope Leo XIII are said to be the keenest of the last two generations. It was, no doubt, the light of joy in his heart at seeing America at last, that lit up his face and fairly made it glow. And America took him to her heart at once, whole-heartedly, as she is wont to do when the occasion warrants. During his visit his popularity grew day by day. With consummate tact, he always said and did the right thing in the right way. Whilst

he did not heap abuse upon the Germans, he was not slow to lay before Americans the sorry plight of his own country and bespeak for her the kind offices of the nation which had proved itself a real pillar of support to the war impoverished countries of Europe. Through his earnest representations plans were made for the restoration of the Louvain Library, which perhaps more than any other havoc wrought by the war tore his scholarly heart. There was scarcely a university of the country that did not confer upon him honorary degrees—degrees which he had won years before on his own Belgian arena. Municipalities vied with one another in arranging demonstrations in his honor. Wherever he went the freedom of the city was conferred upon him. And after he had left us, men pointed out the spots that he had visited, and erected monuments and busts to him, not only as one who had learned to know and love our land as few others, but as one of the great outstanding characters of those turbulent days of the World War.

Those who saw the Cardinal during his visit to America, and more particularly those who had the privilege of knowing him personally, rejoice in the knowledge that his beloved Belgium is rapidly returning to its status of pre-war prosperity. All are glad of this, not only for brave Belgium's sake, but

for the sake of him who is the fine flower of that land,—the man who by his patriotism and humanity has earned the eternal love and admiration of the world.

THOMAS G. MASARYK

1850–

NATION BUILDING

THOMAS G. MASARYK

NATION BUILDING

By WILLIAM HARD

MASARYK came to the city of Washington last spring and lived in a little flat, quietly, a private person. When he left the city of Washington, a few months later, he was in course having to go to formal diplomatic dinners at official Washington houses and of having to walk out from drawing-rooms to dining-rooms at the head of all processions of guests and in precedence of even the greatest and most senior of ministers and ambassadors; for he was now in the rank of those who appoint ministers and ambassadors to their posts and send them on their errands. He was the chief executive of a government. He was the first President of Bohemia. He was the received and recognized ruler of a people and a country.

It is sometimes called a small country. But it is by no means tiny or insignificant. Quite the contrary. For population it is the eighth country of all Europe.

It has more people than Norway and Denmark and Sweden put together. And it is Europe's central citadel. Fortified by mountains, it dominates the military strategy of Europe between the North Sea and the Ægean. And it is Europe's central interpreter. It looks westward to the great established nations now joined together in the Entente; and it looks eastward and southward to the numerous new nations about to arise in the New Europe of the peace settlement.

For the whole of that New Europe Masaryk has been the most powerful and persuasive spokesman at the ears of the statesmen of Washington and of London and of Rome and of Paris. And for the first country in that New Europe to give itself a genuine effective government, Masaryk has been the chief organizer and the chief diplomat and is now the supreme political head, ruling Europe's midmost fortress from the independent capital of Prague.

For a man who at the age of fifteen was apprentice to a blacksmith, here is success. But here is more than success:

In the fall of the year 1915 Masaryk was in Paris. His property at Prague had been confiscated by the Austrian Government. Even his books had been seized by the police, and also his manuscripts. He had just published two volumes of his learned work on

Russia. For most people those two volumes would have been quite enough. When laid on a table, on their sides, the one on top of the other, they stand several inches high. But Masaryk is thorough. He had composed a third volume, as huge as either of the first two. And it lay in his house in manuscript, unprinted. And the Austrians had it.

Would they destroy it? Then all that work would have to be done again. Among Masaryk's enormous worries at Paris that fall, we may be sure that this small worry kept coming up every day in his scholar's mind. And we may be also sure that one of the first things he will do when he reenters Prague in presidential pomp will be to hunt for that manuscript and recover it if it still exists and then sit down in his late evenings and laboriously revise it and bring it to date and send it to the printer—and then, perhaps, begin on volume four.

But at Paris, in the fall of 1915, he was quite unable even to think of volume four; and at Prague he had left hostages behind him a bit more precious than manuscripts after all.

One of his sons was compelled to be in the Austrian army, forced to bear arms for a cause detested by Bohemia. One of his daughters was imprisoned. His wife was at any time likely to be imprisoned. She is of American birth, and Masaryk in his youth had

voyaged to America to marry her and take her back to Europe. They had been students together at Leipsic, he of philosophy and she of music. And it was characteristic of Masaryk's views of women that when he married her, he calmly added her name to his own, and, from being Thomas Masaryk, became Thomas Garrigue Masaryk. And when in October of this year, 1918, he finally issued the "Declaration of Independence of the Czecho-Slovak Nation by its Provisional Government," he did not fail to say: "Our democracy in Bohemia shall rest on universal suffrage; and women shall be placed on an equal footing with men, politically and socially and culturally."

In the fall of 1915 Mrs. Masaryk was in the power of a government which has not hesitated to execute thousands of women.

And that Government, the Government at Vienna, along with the Government at Berlin, seemed to have a full fighting chance, and more than a full fighting chance, of being victorious in the world war. The British were not ready to take the offensive on the western front. The western front was standing still. And the eastern front was going back. The Russians were in retreat across the Carpathians.

And, finally, the Allies were still blind to the cause of Bohemia and still deaf to Masaryk's arguments.

Not one word had they spoken on which Bohemia could rely for its future.

In these circumstances a clever man, a merely clever man, a diplomat like Talleyrand or even like Bismarck, would have sought for a way by which he could remain on good terms with the Allies and yet he prepared for a compromise with Vienna and with Berlin. At that moment the wisdom of the world would have been to carry water on both shoulders. And at that moment Masaryk took his pen and wrote his manifesto of November 14, 1915, in which he demanded the complete democratic dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, and in which he committed Bohemia totally and irrevocably to the side of the Allies.

This was a million miles beyond cleverness. The Central Powers represented autocracy. The Allies, on the whole, represented democracy. The cause of Bohemia was entirely a democratic cause. Therefore Bohemia must go up with the Allies to triumph, or down with the Allies to the pit and night. With that simplicity, with that grandeur, Masaryk walked into the statesmanship of the great war and shook the hand of Fate for himself and for his country.

A year and a half later, in the spring of 1917, he was in Russia. The Revolution had come. And after the Revolution came the Mensheviki and the Bolsheviki. And in the summer came the last Russian

offensive. And the Russians were now running all the way home to their cities and farms. And if the fall of 1915 was black, the fall of 1917 was blacker. And Masaryk went down to the neighborhood of Kief, in Southern Russia, in the Ukraine, where a large number of his countrymen were gathered together.

They were men who had been compelled to serve against their wills in the Austrian and Hungarian armies. They were Czechs and Slovaks, from Bohemia and from the districts immediately to the southeast of Bohemia. They were blood-brethren, speaking the same language and linked by a common hatred of the oppressions practised upon them by the Germans of Vienna and the Hungarians of Budapest. They had revolted against their German and Hungarian officers and had gone over to the side of the Russians. In the last Russian offensive they had been the only troops that had really fought. They fought till the Russians on both their flanks, to the right of them and to the left of them, had run so far to the rear that the whole Czecho-Slovak unit was almost surrounded. Then they retired toward Kief. And to them, to these strenuous soldiers, came Masaryk.

He was sixty-seven years old. He was a professor of philosophy. He was a maker of books. He had written a very good book on "The Concrete Grounds of Logic." He was slender, tallish, with a slight

mild stoop of the shoulders, a slow speech, a benignant beard, and gentle brown eyes. And whatever this old man told those young heroes to do, they did.

In the midst of the anarchy of Russia he had no possible physical control over them. But they knew him. They all knew him for his toil and for his character. And hundreds of them knew him personally. They had listened to his lectures at the University of Prague.

In European universities, more than in our own, it is possible for students to discriminate between professors whom they wish to hear and professors whom they do not wish to hear. The lecture-rooms of certain professors at Prague, as at all other European universities, were frequented by twenty, ten, five students. Masaryk lectured on philosophy. In his lecture-room the students filled all the chairs and they filled the aisles and they filled the window-ledges and they filled the corridor outside, standing on tiptoe and turning their heads to catch his words. He spoke of life and strength and truth to nourish them. And if they ever murmured against him he knew how to rebuke them without sternness.

One such murmuring, one such rebuke, Captain Spacek of the Czecho-Slovak army near Kief could remember and could afterward recount at Washington. It was on the famous occasion when Masaryk

had been defending a certain Jew named Hillsner against a charge of "ritual murder." Masaryk believed that Hillsner was probably innocent of any such absurd and abominable crime. Believing so, he said so. But his students were many of them convinced of Hillsner's guilt. They and a great multitude of the people of Prague were resentful of Jewish activity and hostile to Jewish success, and ready to lay hold of any weapon of gossip and suspicion for discrediting the Jews and for overcoming them. So in all Prague there was a great passing anger against Masaryk, and in his lecture-room there was something of a tumult.

Then it was that Masaryk turned to the blackboard and wrote certain words upon it, silently, and let them stand there speaking for him, and turned back to his audience and opened his notes and went on, without further comment, to deliver his stated lecture on applied philosophy. The words were:

"Do not drink. Do not play cards. Work. That is the only way to meet competition, Jewish or any other."

Masaryk himself has always lived up to the rather exacting level of that writing on that blackboard. In fact his austerity, if he were not so unobstrusive about it in daily life, might be heavy to bear for those about him. Drinking, smoking, card-playing, anything that

savors of the lures of the flesh, seem to be quite outside his interest. Yet he is indeed altogether gracious about it. He sits amiable and kindly in the midst of men who are offering themselves up as sacrifices to alcohol and nicotine; and it seems to be only at rare intervals (as during the Hillsner incident) that it even occurs to him to suggest to other people that they should be Puritans.

Accordingly, in coming to know him, one does not see for quite a while that he is himself a Puritan and more than a Puritan in self-denial. One does not know that one has met an ascetic. One sees only a very dear and very charming old gentleman smiling oddly with the smile of a boy from the height of his age and authority.

Thus he appeared to the Czecho-Slovaks assembled in arms near Kief in 1917 and in the early months of 1918. And the question was: War or Peace?

Germany was certainly triumphant on the eastern front now. No Russian army was left. And how could fifty thousand Czecho-Slovaks resist further? And an emissary came from Vienna and approached the Czecho-Slovaks and said:

"Make peace, and come back to Bohemia, and you will be amnestied and forgiven, and we will grant Bohemia an autonomous government."

But Masaryk said to the Czecho-Slovaks:

"At one place in the world it is still possible to die with many comrades fighting Germans. That place is France. Turn your faces eastward. Cross Siberia. Cross Russia. I will try to have ships for you at Vladivostok. And on the western front, if the Allies perish, you perish. But if the Allies win, then you will have the only Bohemia ever truly Bohemia —a Bohemia not 'autonomous' under the Hapsburgs, but wholly independent with a Government all its own."

So for the second time, when diplomacy might have bargained, Masaryk's diplomacy stood fast for a single, simple principle and made a straight, complete choice between right and wrong, and stood to get everything or nothing.

THE MARCH OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS

It was everything. The Czecho-Slovak army did what Professor Masaryk told it to do. It marched. On that night Masaryk's aids saw something happen to him that they did not thing possible. They saw him cry. Bohemia was prostrate and in torture at home. And Bohemia's army was at Valley Forge—at a Valley Forge in a foreign, strange land. But it marched. And it took Siberia. And it was recognized by all the Allies and by the United States. And Bohemia became a belligerent, a recognized belliger-

ent, on the side of the Allies and of the United States, with an army and with a Government. And Masaryk became President. And the two decisions which made him President and which made his nation again a nation were those two acts of faith at Paris and at Kief in the light of the spirit and in a great blackness of all physical fortune.

For those two acts his whole previous life was preparation.

In his youth he had known his own drift toward public affairs. He decided that he would become a diplomat. He was a student then at the University of Vienna. He was in his twenties. And there was a school at Vienna for the study of Oriental languages. To that school went young men who were getting ready for a diplomatic career in the countries of the East. And it gave certain courses even for outsiders. Masaryk, as an outsider, took a course in Arabic. And then he tried to be allowed to take all the courses. But there was a difficulty.

In Bohemia, and particularly in the Moravian part of Bohemia, there are great estates. These estates are owned for the most part by Germans who took them by force from Bohemian noblemen centuries ago. On them to-day live great families with such names as Lichtenstein and Loewenstein and Thun-Hohenstein and Schwarzenberg. And many of these estates

are owned directly by the Hapsburgs. They are imperial estates. They are the pleasure-grounds of the foreign German emperors of Vienna, rulers and chief robbers of Bohemia. And on such an estate Masaryk was born.

He is a Slovak. The Slovaks, by circumstances of Austrian and Hungarian politics, have been kept at a lower level of education and of property than the Czechs. Masaryk's father was a Slovak workman, working on the land of the Emperor Francis Joseph; and to that land, from time to time, to hunt and to be merry, the emperor would come with princes and archdukes and counts.

Now it was for such persons and for their relatives and for their friends that the School of Oriental Languages at Vienna existed. It was for them that all courses were open and a diplomatic career possible. But not for Masaryk. He could not be admitted.

Thereupon he went back to his determination to be a scholar. In his boyhood he had enjoyed two years in a village school. Afterward, having worked for a locksmith and then for a blacksmith, he had become a pupil-teacher in another school near by. By tutoring duller or younger boys he went along through his lower studies and came to his upper studies and to the university. And he grew into being a teacher.

first at the University of Vienna and then at the University of Prague.

As a teacher, as a professor, he now accomplished many years of sheer scholarship. He laid out the paths and the fields of his encyclopedic knowledge. He reached into the theological controversies of the France of the seventeenth century and wrote a book on the writings of the French philosopher Blaise Pascal. He reached in to the sociological controversies of his own century and wrote a book on the statistics and on the moral causes of suicide. His chair at the University of Prague was a chair of philosophy; but, more precisely, it was a chair of *applied* philosophy. In Masaryk's hands the subject of applied philosophy seemed to be a distilling and condensing of all other known subjects. And then he was elected, in 1891, to sit in the Parliament at Vienna for a Bohemian district.

It may seem strange that such a man, studying logic and Pascal and suicide in a university, should be urged by his fellow-citizens to serve them in public life. But in Bohemia it aroused no comment of surprise. The Bohemians do not look down upon a man because he is a professor. On the contrary, they look up to him. And the natural result is that men worth looking up to are more likely than they otherwise would be to become professors and to be-

come the intellectual leaders of the nation. And it happened during the war that all three of the managing members of Bohemia's Provisional Government were professors.

This Provisional Government was brought into existence at Paris. Masaryk was its head. Professor Bennes, also of the University of Prague, was its secretary. And its vice-president was Dr. Milan Stefanik, an astronomer, director of the observatory near Paris at Meudon. Stefanik became also an aviator in the course of the war, but his occupation was the mathematics of the sky. And to these three scholars the whole Czecho-Slovak nation and the whole Czecho-Slovak army gave an implicit political obedience.

But it was not an obedience of ignorance. There were no illiterates in the Czecho-Slovak army. From top to bottom that army was an educated army—so much so that Masaryk did not bother to protect it by censorships from German and Bolshevist "propaganda."

At Kief the Bolshevists wished to address the army of the Czecho-Slovaks and convert it. Masaryk told them to proceed. For several days they harangued and argued, publicly and privately, in perfect freedom. At the end of that time, out of an army of fifty thousand men, they took away two hundred and

fifty converts. Masaryk was rid of two hundred and fifty unreliable soldiers and he had forty-nine thousand seven hundred and fifty soldiers left whose minds as well as whose bodies were utterly ready for every possible attack.

Among such a people, so given to argument and to respect for argument, Masaryk became a politician, a Member of Parliament, quite naturally. But he soon retired from Parliament. He had not found the political party, he had not found the intellectual movement, to which he could give his full support. And he determined to make an intellectual movement and to make a political party of his own. And to this labor he now gave another long term of years.

He wrote books, and he inspired newspapers and periodicals, and he delivered lectures, and he gathered up his interpretations of the history and of the religion and of the industry and of the national character and destiny of Bohemia into a movement which he called the Realistic Movement and into a party which he called the Progressive Party. And the question he always asked was:

"What is there in Bohemia which makes it worthy to live again as a nation among nations?"

The great German historian, Mommsen, visiting Austria, had said:

"In order that the Germans may drive on toward the east, it is necessary to break these Czechs."

Masaryk inquired:

"If the Czechs should be broken, what would be lost?"

And he wrote his works on "Jan Huss" and "Karel Havlicek" and "The Czech Question" and "The Soul of the Nation" to make all Czechs see what would be lost and to give them their reason in their instructed hearts for surviving. And it was necessary for them to live up to that reason. For, as he said to them:

"You were indeed a nation once. But if you would not die, there must be something—some old thing or some new thing, or some old thing and some new thing put together, which you can give the world You can live only by giving it."

And he saw in Bohemia an instrument for the whole world against autocracy. Hedged in by the three autocratic Governments at Vienna and at Budapest and at Berlin, the Bohemian people by history and development were and are a democratic people. And he made his party a party friendly to democracy, to democracy not only political but industrial. He made his party the most industrially democratic party of all the Bohemian middle-class parties. It stood between the middle-class parties and the parties of

the workingmen. And, in 1907, sixteen years after his first entrance into Parliament, he returned to Parliament from the district of Valassko as leader of a practical political enterprise which he had created out of the world of books and pictures and poems and statistics and working-class manifestoes and medieval religious wars and modern novels and religion and music. He boldly said:

"Politics is the sciences and the arts."

And he made his saying good. He continued to represent Valassko in Parliament without opposition. The Social Democrats would run a candidate against him for form's sake; because their constitution demanded it. But there was no genuine opposition. His place in politics was uncontested and secure. He began to be called "the conscience of Bohemia."

And the war came.

At once the leaders of various political parties in Bohemia met together to choose one of their number to go into the countries of the Entente and to be the representative there of all Bohemia and of all Bohemian difficulties and aspirations. They chose Masaryk. On him the middle-class parties and the working-class parties, confident of his fairness, could unite. And he got across the frontier, with one of his daughters, and proceeded to France and to Italy and to England and began his great mission.

In the language of business, he was to "sell" Bohemia and the Bohemian idea to the Allies. In the language of present politics, he was to do Bohemian "propaganda." And he turned out to be the most successful salesman and propagandist that has appeared during the war. But he certainly did it by a method all his own.

He would arrive at a new city—London or Paris or Washington or any other. He would settle down in a little room which at once became a study. His first task seemed to be to go out and buy some books for this study. On his table in Washington one would notice a nice fresh line of authoritative books on American history and government. One would also notice the complete works of Woodrow Wilson. And sitting beside them one would see a man who apparently had very little to say. His attitude was that of a person engaged in expecting somebody to say something to him.

Then people would call on him, through letters of introduction, and ask him to dinner and ask other people to come in to meet him. They would come in, quite sure that they were about to be buttonholed by a revolutionary agitator and have leaflets slipped into their pockets. Through the first part of dinner they would look at Masaryk with manifest distrust.

In return Masaryk would do nothing. He would agree that the weather was wet and he would not dissent from the opinion that the Germans on the western front were pretty violent. But he had no opinions to offer on the subject of Bohemia. Bohemia had not been mentioned. His host and hostess had not mentioned it. He had not mentioned it. And it would finally become quite comfortably clear, that unless somebody asked him a definite question about Bohemia, the whole evening would pass by without any propaganda.

But it was impossible not to be inquisitive about him. He looked so unlike a dangerous person. And a lady would presently say:

"Oh, Professor Masaryk, is it true that you are condemned to death by the Austrian Government?"

And Professor Masaryk would say yes it was, and he would politely relate the circumstances and, having related them, stop. And he would look about agreeably for the next question. And it would come. It could not help coming.

To see this man was to feel and know that in him there was a great store of achievement and knowledge. But it was not a fountain. It was a mine, a sort of magnetic mine, in which you could not help digging. And people would begin to dig. They would ask him question after question. And Masaryk

would unroll the great pageant of Bohemian history and of Austro-Hungarian tyranny, point by point, but always stopping when the point which the question had drawn out was finished. And it was clear as day that everything he said about Bohemia and Austria-Hungary was said from the standpoint of the man of science, the man of scrupulous, ascertained truth.

And it would get to be late. And still Masaryk had never raised his voice above the level of a man discussing the politics of ancient Egypt. Only in his gravity, only in the perfectly tragic and therefore perfectly serene sadness which lived in his eyes, could one see the man who suffered and the nation which for five centuries has every year and every day suffered from the Austria, never better described than when it was called "assassin of the spirit."

And at the end of the evening people would say: "Really, you must lecture about this."

And Masaryk would lecture. In England he was appointed to a chair at King's College in the University of London. He lectured there and he lectured in France and he lectured in America. He lectured among us on Bohemia. He would have a great map and a long pointer. And he would relate the history of Europe, in relation to the history of Bohemia, through all time, just exactly as if the people before

him were engaged in studying for their degree of Doctor of Philosophy. And they would not be thrilled. He did not want to thrill them. He wanted to inform them. And he succeeded. They were informed and they were convinced.

And by precisely that same method he ultimately convinced the Governments of Britain and France and Italy and the United States. In appealing to them he used their own history and their own character just as much as he used the history and character of Bohemia. And he would put footnotes to his diplomatic communications, just exactly as if he were writing a treatise in historical science.

An extraordinary instance of this habit of his occurred in one of his memoranda to our Government at Washington. It leaked out among the newspaper reporters who frequent the State Department, and it filled them with amazement. Masaryk was quite familiar, apparently with the colonial pre-revolutionary history of the United States, and he seemed to regard it as quite important for present purposes; and so, in course of showing why the United States should regard Bohemia as a good and useful ally in the world war, he delivered himself as follows:

"The history of Bohemia is permeated by the religious element, which brings us into close spiritual relationship with England (John Wyclif of England

and Jan Huss of Bohemia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) and with America. And I would especially point out that for us Czechs there is a foundation of sympathy with America laid down by the fact of the development of American democracy out of church organization. (*See the well-known works of Borgeaud, Jellinek, etc.*)"

To the learned eyes in the White House we may assume that the "well-known" works of Borgeaud and Jellinek were familiar objects. To most of the rest of Washington they were a bit novel. And Masaryk went on to say:

"America and Europe have to choose between the liberation of seven oppressed nations in Austria-Hungary and the perpetuation of the degraded Hapsburg dynasty, covering its crimes with the sacrilegious pretense of being a chosen instrument of God. No! 'God is not an Austrian' (Byron)."

This is probably the only diplomatic document that ever ended with the word "Byron." But we have to remember Masaryk's theory. "Politics is the Sciences and the Arts."

In the fall of 1916 the Allies committed themselves, in their December manifesto, to the liberation of Austria-Hungary's oppressed nations. Into that manifesto, directly through the influence set going by Masaryk, the French Government inserted the specific

word "Czecho-Slovaks." In 1918 the United States also abandoned the idea of preserving Austria-Hungary and consented to its dismemberment and disruption. And in the meantime, largely because of Masaryk's successful diplomacy, the various political parties of Bohemia, back in Bohemia itself, had been able to pursue a united policy. And now, coming together, all of them, they united and unanimously summoned Masaryk to return home to guide Bohemia through the present European tempest as its first president and really as its dictator, a dictator freely chosen and universally loved, but a dictator supreme and virtually absolute for the maintenance of law and order and for the solid establishment of a democratic republic.

So Masaryk became Bohemia's Washington, summoned as only Washington before him ever was by all parties without opposition to be the first head of his new country's new Government.

So he prepared to leave Washington. He appointed Charles Pergler to be the commissioner of the Government of Bohemia, to speak for it to the Government of the United States. And he assembled his books and his manuscripts and his notes. And the last day of his stay in Washington came. And he sat in the front room of the new Czecho-Slovak Legation at Washington, facing a plain wooden table with little

methodical pieces of paper on it and pencils. And it was a violent day of horrible hurry for almost everybody else. But Masaryk turned to receive his visitors with the same apparently endless leisure which superficially had always been at his disposal.

The fact is that he never stops working. But the fact is also that he never hastens. He does a million things and goes on instantly to the next one in complete calm.

Czecho-Slovak officers came in breathless and told him their tales of decisions needed, and Masaryk tapped on his table with his pencils and, after listening long, said three words or five and the Czecho-Slovak officers went away. And the evening came. And Prince Lvov of Russia was to come with it to see Masaryk at the legation. And at Pergler's house, some distance off, there was a little evening tea, where those who were to accompany Masaryk to Europe and those who were to stay behind were saying their farewells, quite aloof from presidents.

But there was a little tap at the door. And President Masaryk came in. And he sat quietly with his cup of tea and said a few words when anybody reverently said a few words to him, and slowly pulled out his watch and said, "I must go now," and went unhurriedly back to see Prince Lvov punctually at

nine. And those who were to be left behind said, "Well, Father Masaryk is gone."

He is "father" not only to his country, but to the men and women and the children, the individuals, of his country. He will leave his country a greater legacy than greatness. Forever and forever in Bohemia every mother will say to every boy on her knee:

"You can try to be like him. No matter how small you are, you can try to be like him. He was a great man, but more greatly still, he was a simple man and a true man and a good man."

ADMIRAL DEWEY

1837-1917

NAVAL STRATEGY

ADMIRAL DEWEY

NAVAL STRATEGY

By REAR-ADMIRAL BRADLEY A. FISKE, U.S.N.

GEORGE DEWEY came of that pioneer stock which triumphed over the rigors of the New England climate and the unfruitfulness of the New England soil, and developed that intelligent and enterprising type of people, who have contributed more than any other to advance the American idea, the building of American civilization, and the formation of the distinctly American character. His great-grandfather was one of the volunteers at the Battle of Lexington. His great-granduncle was with Ethan Allen at the taking of Fort Ticonderoga.

George Dewey was born at Montpelier, Vermont, on December 26th, 1837.

His father was Dr. Julius Yeomans Dewey; his mother, before marriage, was Mary Perrin, but she died when George was only five years old. The main inspiration of his boyhood was the Life of Hannibal.

At the age of thirty he married Susie, daughter of

Governor Goodwin of New Hampshire, who died five years later. Twenty-seven years still later, when he returned as the conquering hero of the Spanish War, he married Mildred (McLean) widow of General Hazen, U.S.A.

George Dewey secured an appointment to the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1854. He was not so amenable to discipline as some others; but he completed the academic course with considerable credit in 1858. Before final graduation, he took the regular "midshipman cruise" in Europe, which lasted two years. At its conclusion, he was finally graduated at the age of 23, and ranked number three in his class.

Just then the Civil War broke out. Dewey took part actively. He was first assigned to the steam sloop Mississippi of the West Gulf Squadron, which formed part of Farragut's fleet which forced the passage of Fort St. Philip and Fort Jackson in April 1862. Dewey took part also in the attack on Fort St. Philip and the subsequent fights with iron clads and gun boats, by means of which Farragut gained possession of New Orleans and the Mississippi, and "cut the Confederacy in two." In the smoke of the Battle of Port Hudson, the Mississippi lost her bearings and ran ashore under the fire of the enemy's land batteries, forcing the officers and crew to set the vessel on fire and take to the boats.

Dewey afterwards served on several vessels of the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron.

After the war, Dewey served on several ships and stations, ashore and afloat, creditable but obscurely. In December, 1897, when a Commodore, he was ordered to take command of the Asiatic Squadron. As he would retire in two years, the probability seemed overwhelming that he would end his official career, and therefore his life, without marked distinction.

But on February 15th, 1898, the U. S. Maine was sunk in Havana Harbor. Feeling against Spain, by reason of her misrule in Cuba, had been rising in the United States for many years. Therefore, nobody wondered when highly respectable gentlemen were seen soon afterward in great numbers on our streets, wearing a ribbon in the buttonhole, on which was inscribed, in golden letters, the words "To Hell With Spain."

Dewey was ordered to prepare to proceed against the Spanish possessions in the Philippines. He speedily collected his squadron in Hong-Kong Harbor. On April 25th, he received orders to attack the enemy's fleet. Exercising that rare combination of carefulness and promptness which Dewey possessed in so great measure, he got his squadron into fighting condition very speedily and very effectively and sailed

for Manila. The writer was in the Petrel, the smallest ship.

The afternoon of April 30th was spent in skirting the west coast of Luzon Island, of which Manila Bay is an opening on its western side. Before dark, the captains were called on board the flagship for a last consultation. They soon returned to their ships. Then the fleet, formed in column "at distance," stood toward the entrance of Manila Bay, about sixty miles away.

As darkness slowly descended, the scene took on a character at once soothing and disturbing. The guns were ready, considerable ammunition was on deck, and the men lay, or sat, or stood by their guns. The night was clear and calm. There was nothing to do, for all preparations had been made. There was nothing to see, except the dim masses of our ships and the vague outline of the distant coast. There was nothing to hear, except the sound of the engines and the swish of the water along the sides.

I turned in early. The deck above my head, as I lay in my bunk, was about two feet distant; and I thought how very flat I should be squashed out against that deck, if a torpedo exploded under the ship. But I soon fell asleep. I was aroused by a noise at my door and the orderly's voice saying "The Captain

wishes to see you." I realized that it was nearly daylight.

When I reported to the captain on the bridge, he pointed to the right and said, "The Spanish fleet is over there." To my amazement, I saw that the Spanish fleet was not ahead of us and supported by the guns of Manila, but was several miles away from them. We had expected, of course, that we should have to attack both the fleet and the forts of the city. If we had had to do that, all the American ships would have been sunk in Manila Bay.

Dewey grasped the situation at once, and headed toward the Spanish fleet. I had the best position of anyone in the fleet for observing the events that followed; for I had asked and received permission from the captain to rig up a platform on the foremast about forty-five feet above the water. There I sat with my stadimeter, and measured the range of the enemy, and informed the captain of everything that happened.

By the time that I had seated myself on the platform, there was fairly good daylight. I could see that certain masts ahead of us were the masts of merchant ships; and behind them were the white domes and towers and trees of what seemed the most beautiful city I had ever seen. A lovely sheet of water, blue and tranquil, spread out on all sides. Behind us, rose the great Island of Corregidor; and to the

northern and westward, the lofty mountains of Luzon. To the right—that is, to the south—the land was lower; and there, standing out in clear relief against the bright blue sky, were the awe-inspiring forms of the ships of the Spanish fleet.

Dewey charged at them, unhesitatingly and at full speed. When the distance had decreased to a favorable range, he changed the fleet speed to "slow" in order that the ships might aim their guns with the maximum accuracy. Then when satisfied that they had reached the correct position, he opened the battle with the historic order, given to the captain of his flagship: "You may fire when you are ready, Gridley."

The American fleet paraded back and forth before the Spanish fleet, firing as rapidly as they could with proper aim. To me in my elevated perch, the whole thing looked like a performance that had been carefully rehearsed. The ships went slowly and regularly, seldom or never getting out of their relative positions; and they ceased firing only at intervals when the smoke became too thick. For a long while I could not form an opinion as to which way fortune was going to decide.

But after some time, it became evident that the Spanish fleet was suffering badly. I remember reporting to the captain that one of the ships had no

fired a shot in fifteen minutes, when that ship fired a shot which came very close to us. I also remember reporting that the other principal ship was on fire in two places. It was not long after this that Commodore Dewey withdrew the fleet out into the Bay, and sent the men to breakfast.

All the Spanish ships were evidently sinking, but the Spanish flag still floated defiantly over the Cavite Arsenal, near them.

After breakfast, and in obedience to signal, the Baltimore got under way and steamed toward Sangley Point, whereon was a battery defending the arsenal. Her appearance was dramatic and picturesque in the extreme. She was literally rushing on the foe; and when she began to strike out with her long guns, I got a realizing sense of force in motion that I never had before. The beach was torn up with the impact of her shells, and the air was filled with clouds of sand and smoke and the flames of burning powder. The Spanish batteries could not stand this long and soon gave up the fight.

Then the expected signal came from Dewey: "Petrel pass inside." This was soon followed by another signal to burn the Spanish ships. The executive officer, Hughes, was given the task of burning them; while I, the navigator, was given the task of landing at the arsenal, ascertaining the conditions

there, and capturing a number of handsome tugs and launches which could be plainly seen. I found the arsenal grounds full of soldiers in military formation, and of sailors from the deserted ships, who were not in any formation at all. I was able to get what information I wanted and to secure the launches and other boats, and tow them to the Petrel.

By this time, Hughes had returned to the Petrel, having carried out his dangerous work, and the rest of the fleet was well out in the Bay. Then, near dusk, the Petrel steamed up toward it, towing her prizes. At nightfall, the whole fleet started toward Manila City, lighted on our way by the brilliant flames of the ships of our conquered foes.

The events just narrated seemed at the time perfectly natural and to be expected. When the battle was over, we did not feel that we had done anything wonderful; and nobody in the fleet appreciated the fact that the Battle of Manila was one of the most important battles that had ever been fought in any country or any age, and would be recorded in history as one of the "Decisive Battles of the World."

To be the victor of that battle was the lot that fell to Dewey. The number of people who lived before us, and who stand out clearly in our minds, is few. The more clear the figures we see, the fewer they are. Moses, Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon stand out clear

and bright in the foreground. Behind them, and dimmer, we see Plato, Socrates, Homer, and a few score of philosophers, poets, artists and soldiers. Behind these, stretching far back and extending on both sides, in a light that grows increasingly feeble, we dimly discern the outlines of a very few hundred men and women who were great.

The fact that certain men stand out clearly is owing to the things they did: the things they did were because of the things they had the opportunity to do, and the way in which they availed themselves of opportunity. Sometimes opportunity came to them: sometimes they grasped opportunity as she was passing by them. To utilize opportunity successfully, some degree of skill was needed; and in order to possess this skill, some degree of ability and character was required. The net result in every case was the product of the opportunity multiplied by the skill with which it was employed. The greatest results were obtained when the greatest opportunity was utilized with the greatest skill.

Opportunities are of many kinds, and come in various guises. The opportunity most commonly presented to men, and most commonly ignored, is the opportunity to live a useful life, and do the most one can to make life better for those in one's own circle, and thereby to secure the best reward there is, the

affectionate esteem of friends. In rarer cases, opportunity comes to gain material success in money, power or fame: in other cases, opportunity lets us do some work of lasting value, by means of some invention, discovery or principle expounded: sometimes opportunity permits a man to be the head of a great movement, or great nation, and guide that movement, or that nation, to better things: and sometimes opportunity permits a man to do something so startling, so picturesque and so sudden, that his name is instantly projected against the background of the commonplace in lines of vivid light.

Of such a kind was the opportunity that came to Dewey. An obscure commodore in a second rate navy on April 30, he was the most conspicuous man in the world on May 1. Going into Manila Bay at midnight on April 30; opposing his little unarmored ships to the gun-fire of Corregidor, Caballo and El Fraile; approaching Manila City five hours later and engaging the 9.2-inch guns mounted on her ramparts; and then darting toward Cavite and destroying the Spanish fleet anchored there: he seized opportunity with so masterful a grasp, that he wrung from her all she had, and leaped upon the plateau of undying fame.

The circumstances attending the battle, the distance of its place of happening from home, the suddenness of its occurrence, the briefness of its duration, the

picturesqueness of its surroundings, the completeness of its victory, the obviousness of its importance, and the fact that not one life was lost on Dewey's side, combined to give it a distinctiveness that no other event of any kind had ever possessed on so large a scale. No battle fought on land could possibly stand out so sharply, because no battle of comparable magnitude could have been fought on land so quickly, and decided so unalterably. No naval battle, ancient or modern, possessed in equal degree its dramatic characteristics—though the battles of Trafalgar and the Nile approximated them. No manager ever staged any play more theatrically than the battle of Manila was staged; no words of man ever caused a thrill so intense, so amazed, and so widespread, as Dewey's brief announcement from Manila.

After the naval battle, and until the capture of the city, a pause of three months and a half ensued. During this period, Dewey kept Manila under his guns, and brought to bear the combination of diplomatic shrewdness and aggressive forcefulness which induced Aguinaldo and his army to assist the landing of the American troops, and ensured the holding by the United States of the Philippine Islands, unembarrassed by the interference of any foreign power.

Throughout the weary year that dragged itself along between the naval battle and Dewey's departure

for home, he continuously exerted that masterful direction of affairs which was needed then and there, and which made him the most important naval officer of the time. No more difficult service was ever undertaken by any naval officer, at any period or in any place; no service of any kind, military or civil, was ever more skillfully performed.

During the 17 years that elapsed after his return to his country and until his death, except the first year, Admiral Dewey served continuously as president of the General Board, which, under his diplomatic and forceful guidance, advanced steadily through various stages of increasing prestige and importance, from the position of a tentative organization, disbelieved in by most naval officers, opposed by the department bureaus, and ignored by Congress, to the position it now holds of the most trusted body of men in all the government. No suspicion of double dealing, politics, corruption, partisanship or incompetency, ever attached to the General Board, during all the years in which Admiral Dewey was its head.

The personality of Dewey himself was a potent factor in achieving the result: a personality forceful yet urbane, practical yet far-sighted, conservative of what was best in the past, but progressive for the future. A handsome presence, an exquisite neatness of person and attire, a delightful voice, a manner

gracious yet unaffected, and a habitual attitude towards others that was at once tactful and direct, combined to compound a charm that few attempted to resist. It was impossible to regard him as an ordinary man. The glamor of his deeds enveloped him in a special atmosphere; the imagination was captivated by his continuing prestige: he seemed nobler than other men; wherever he went, whatever he did, whatever he said, he was—Dewey.

Farewell, our chief. You pass from among men of the present time and join that little band which the great among the heroes of the past have joined, during the centuries of recorded history. To those of us who have clasped your hand and looked at you eye to eye, a mysterious feeling comes, of communion with the great departed. The curtain that hangs between our common lives and the lives that the great ones of the past have lived flutters as you pass behind it; and we seem to see a little light, coming from a region not real to us, but almost as legendary as the region in which the gods of Olympus dwelt, the region of the immortals.

The curtain stiffens again, and becomes as impenetrable as before. The world seems suddenly to have grown more commonplace. We miss a tonic that was in the air. Something fine has been taken out of life; some glory has departed.

AUTHORITIES

The first part of this sketch, relating to the Battle of Manila, was taken from Admiral Fiske's autobiography, "From Midshipman to Rear-Admiral"; the latter part was published in the United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March, 1917.

IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI

1860–

MUSICAL MASTERY

IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI

MUSICAL MASTERY

By JAMES FRANCIS COOKE

EXCEPTING only Frédèric Chopin no character in musical history has been so prominently identified with Poland as Ignace Jan Paderewski. Considered from a popular standpoint, Chopin never attained that wide celebrity which attaches to the great Polish virtuoso of the present day, whose fame has reached millions who may never hear him play, but are as familiar with his name as that of the greatest statesman of the day. Moreover, Paderewski is wholly of Polish origin while Chopin's attraction to France through ancestry and long residence need not be commented upon.

Properly to appreciate the life and ideals of Paderewski it is desirable to refresh one's memory regarding the remarkable country of his birth, for while Paderewski has shown his wide cosmopolitan experience in his compositions he is nevertheless a most devoted patriot of his native land.

Patriotism it is that binds American sympathies to Poland. The services of the Polish patriot Thaddeus Kosciuszko in our own Revolutionary War will never be forgotten in the new world. But even the zeal and skill of men like Kosciuszko were not able to save their country from the intrusion of the armies of more powerful countries.

Polish history may be traced back to origins so remote as to be largely mythological. In the sixteenth century it was the most powerful country of eastern Europe. In this land of valiant knights and brilliant women, aristocracy flourished. The warring interests of these nobles resulted for a time in breaking the unity necessary for the preservation of military force and this contributed to the downfall of Poland.

It is estimated that over fifteen million people still speak the Polish language; Polish literature dates from antique poems said to have been produced in the tenth century. Doubtless the Polish writers best known in countries beyond the borders of Poland are Mickiewicz, Slowacki, Krasinski and Henryk Sienkiewicz. Those who have read the masterpieces of the last named writer (*Pan Michael* and *With Fire and Sword*) may estimate the depth and power of Polish literary attainments.

Polish music is strongly characteristic in its national tendencies. At first religious and then moulded after

the folk dances and folk songs of the people, it is very intimately interwoven with the everyday life of the men and women of all stations. The polonaise of the court is as national in its spirit as the mazurka of the peasant.

Paderewski's father was a gentleman farmer in Kurylówka (Podolia). His mother was known to have been a woman of exceptional musical gifts but as she died when the boy was still very young he received no benefit from this source.

Paderewski was born at his father's homestead, November 6, 1860. When he was three years old his father was exiled to Siberia for suspected connection with a revolutionary project. When the exile returned after feeling the iron hand of Russian despotism, it may be imagined that nothing was left undone to instill a love for Poland in the heart of the fair-haired little boy. During his father's absence the little orphan did not receive nearly so much musical education in his early childhood as the average child of to-day. His musical tendencies, however, were very manifest. It is said that when he was little more than an infant, he clambered up to reach the piano keyboard and produced beautiful tones. Another story has it that an itinerant fiddler took an interest in the obvious talent of the child and gave him a few lessons now and then. His next teacher was one who

visited the farm at intervals of one month and taught the boy operatic arrangements of a semi-popular type.

At the age of twelve, Paderewski was sent to Warsaw where he entered the conservatory as a regular student. His piano teacher there was Janotha. Janotha was an excellent routine teacher with some inspirational force. Janotha's daughter, Nathalie, later a pupil of Mme. Clara Schumann, also became a pianist of great note in Europe. Raguski, Paderewski's teacher in Harmony at the Warsaw Conservatory, is little known outside of Poland.

The early ambition of the future virtuoso was not that of becoming a great pianist, but rather that of becoming a great composer. It was with this purpose in view that at his early concerts he often played his own compositions. One instance pertaining to his early work as a pianist, is very interesting. He was engaged to play at a concert in a little rural music centre and found the piano so antiquated that the hammers persisted in staying away from the strings after they were struck. In order to give the concert he hired a man with a switch, who adjusted these hammers aftey they were struck as the program proceeded. This was probably the first piano ever introduced with a partly human action. Paderewski reentered the conservatory at Warsaw and when he was only eighteen years of age his proficiency was so pro-

nounced that he was appointed a teacher in the institution. By this time he had married a Polish girl, and when he was only nineteen, the great tragedy of his life came with the death of his wife, leaving him with a son bright in mind but paralyzed in body. To this son Paderewski became the most devoted of fathers and although the boy died in youth, the great pianist was wrapped up in his life as in his own.

One has but to imagine what the effect of the routine life of the Conservatory was upon so sensitive a nature as that of the young Paderewski. From early morning to late at night he taught with little intermission. This was a kind of serfdom to a man with Paderewski's temperament. His great desire was still that of devoting himself to musical composition. It was then that he resolved to become a virtuoso in order that he might later have the leisure to become a composer. He determined to go to Leschetizky at Vienna, but stopped on the way in order to study composition with Kiel and Urban at Berlin. Kiel was one of the most renowned teachers of counterpoint of his day and was professor of composition at the Royal High School of Music. Heinrich Urban was the teacher of composition at Kullak's famous Academy. At the age of twenty-three Paderewski received the appointment of pianoforte teacher at the Strasburg Convervatory where his monthly income was so insignificant that

most American teachers would have turned up their noses at it.

It was while he was at Strasburg that Paderewski met his famous compatriot, Mme. Modjeska (Mme. Modrejewska). This distinguished artist's father had been a musician and she immediately took an interest in the artistic career of the young man with such great ambition and high ideals. Herself one of the greatest of Shakesperian actresses of the time, she was able to give the young man advice of a practical nature which he was only too glad to accept. She found in him a "polished and genial companion; a man of wide culture; of witty and sometimes biting tongue; brilliant in table talk; a man wide awake in all matters of personal interest, who knew and understood the world, but whose intimacy she and her husband especially prized for the elevation of his character and refinement of his mind."

When he was twenty-six years of age, Paderewski, encouraged by Mme. Modjeska, found himself in Vienna under the guidance of Prof. Theodore Leschetizky and his equally renowned wife, Mme. Annette Essipoff (Essipova). This was in 1886 when Leschetizky was then fifty-six years of age and had been teaching for forty years, as he began when he was only fifteen years of age. Leschetizky was what can only be described as a natural teacher. Where Pade-

rewski had found teaching in a conservatory galling to him, Leschetizky found it his life work. Indeed he taught in the St. Petersburg Conservatory for over twenty-five years.

Leschetizky's wide experience extended from the day of his own teacher Czerny through that of his contemporaries up to the present. Naturally he took an immense interest in his fellow countryman, Paderewski, who remained his pupil for the better part of four years.

Paderewski, it should be remembered, was an accomplished musician when he went to Leschetizky. He had already made a tour of part of Russia and had been engaged in teaching advanced pupils for several years. It was this spirit of ambition to do better and still better which led the brilliant young musician to a realization of his shortcomings and the necessity for more study.

At the end of his first year with Leschetizky, Paderewski appeared in concert in Vienna and caused an immediate sensation. At the time the tendency was to attribute his great success to the special methods of Leschetizky. As a matter of fact, Leschetizky has often denied that he has any method except that employed by his Vorbereiter in removing the technical shortcomings of mature pianists whose previous training has been more or less irregular. Leschetizky him-

self has never posed as anything other than an artist teacher employing any justifiable means to reach a given end. In the case of Paderewski, he had wonderful material with which to work as there can be no question that Paderewski would have been a great virtuoso irrespective of who might have been his teacher.

Paderewski's first recital at the Salle Erard in Paris (1888) was attended by a very slender audience. Fortunately the great orchestral conductors Colonne and Lamoureux were present and realized at once that a master pianist had appeared upon the horizon. They engaged him immediately for important orchestral concerts and almost before he knew it, the artist who had waited so long and worked so hard for success was the lion of the hour in Paris. A later appearance at the Conservatoire established him as one of the great pianists of the day—the compeer of Liszt and Rubinstein.

London, like Paris, was a trifle apathetic at first but Paderewski soon became the idol of the hour in England, and has since been enormously popular with both the public and the musicians. The attitude of the conservative English critics of the time was doubtless influenced by the sensational manner in which Paderewski had been received in Paris and by the constant reference to his manner of wearing his hair,

a matter due to his own taste and not to an attempt to secure publicity. The pianist formed the habit of not reading criticism of his playing or his personality whether favorable or unfavorable, and went calmly along the even tenor of his way, letting the critics fight among themselves as to his ability.

Paderewski's American début was made November 17, 1891, in New York. His first audience was representative and brilliant but here again most of the critics were loath to accept the famous pianist at his real artistic worth. The public, however, found his playing so remarkable that his success grew "like an avalanche." Here was a pianist with high artistic ideals, abundant technic, who could speak to his audience through the keyboard so that they would find a newer and richer meaning in the messages of the masters. His consequent success in America is now a part of our musical history. While this has often been estimated in huge sums of money, such a criterion is perhaps unfair to American musical audiences and American musical standards. It is better to say that people actually went hundreds of miles in order to be present at his recitals. Not even Rubinstein was received with such astonishing favor.

Probably no pianist had more difficulty in breaking through conventions in Germany than had Paderewski. It seemed a part of the German musical life to con-

demn any attempt to avoid the stereotyped in technical methods. Indeed, when Paderewski played in Berlin, he followed the performance of his own remarkable concerto by an encore from Chopin. Von Bülow, it is said, was so disgruntled at the ovation given to the Polish pianist that he showed his feeling by sneezing violently during the encore. The unsympathetic attitude of a few carping critics of the "Vaterland" affected the pianist so greatly that he refused to appear in Germany for some years. When he did appear, however, the public ovation given to him was exceptional in every way.

If one were asked to define Paderewski's greatness as a pianist, the best phrase to employ would doubtless be, "It is because his grasp of his art is all-comprehensive." One does not speak of "the technic of Paderewski," the "pedaling of Paderewski," the "bravoura of Paderewski," as all these and other characteristics are merged into his art so that no one feature of his work at the keyboard outshadows any other. Perhaps one of the most intelligent of all appreciations is that of Dr. William Mason, who knew the pianist intimately, and was in turn greatly admired by Paderewski. Dr. Mason writes: "The heartfelt sincerity of the man is noticeable in all that he does, and his intensity of utterance easily accounts for the strong hold he has over his audiences. Paderewski's playing

presents the beautiful contour of a living vital organism. It possesses that subtle quality expressed in some measure by the German word *Sehnsucht* and in English as intensity of aspiration. This quality Chopin had and Liszt frequently spoke of it. It is the undefinable poetic haze with which Paderewski invests and surrounds all that he plays that renders him so unique."

Mr. Henry T. Finck, an intimate of Paderewski, in his excellent brochure *Paderewski and His Art* (now unfortunately out of print), makes the following statement: "Of Paderewski it must be said as of Chopin, Liszt and Rubinstein, that great as is his skill as a pianist, his creative power is even more remarkable. Although he is a Pole and Chopin his idol, yet his music is not an echo of Chopin's." It has been noted that Paderewski's first ambition was to become a composer; his whole life work has in fact been focused upon this firm desire. He became a pianist in order that he might purchase the leisure for composition. However, there can be no doubt that his epoch-making success as a virtuoso has so colored the public mind that it refuses to consider the master works of Paderewski while it readily admits those of less worthy composers not afflicted with a great reputation as a performer. Serious-minded musicians who have become intimately acquainted with Paderewski's compo-

sitions for orchestra, the stage, the voice, the piano, etc., do not hesitate to declare him not only among the foremost musical creators of the present, but among the great masters of all times.

The little *Minuet in G*, known as "Paderewski's Minuet," although a bagatelle, is probably one of the five most popular pieces ever written, yet very few of Paderewski's other more noteworthy piano pieces are widely known. His concerto for piano and orchestra is one of the finest works of its description and readily ranks with the great concertos of Chopin, Beethoven and Brahms. The *Chants du Voyageur* are extremely melodious and full of character. Many of the piano pieces in the set known as *Six Humoresques de Concert*, particularly the *Caprice in the Style of Scarlatti* and the *Burleska*, are singularly distinctive and interesting. The *Burleska*, has a "bite" to it which makes it one of the most fascinating piano pieces of its class. The *Toccata Dans le Désert* is full of atmosphere, but demands a very skillful interpreter to bring out its full meaning. Of the four Morceaux—*Légende, Mélodie, Theme Varié in A* and *Nocturne in B Flat*, the last named is possibly the most played. The *Concerto for piano and orchestra in A minor* is easily one of the greatest works in larger forms written for piano. One critic has rated it as the greatest concerto since Schumann. Paderewski's songs are rich and full of

character while always sincere in their delineation of the poet's thought. His *Symphony in B minor*, which first became known in the United States through the fine performances of it given by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, is a work of majestic lines, magnificently orchestrated and filled with the great composer's splendid melodic ideas and harmonic treatment. It is said that he has written the woes of his native land into this masterpiece. His opera *Manru* should be heard more frequently as many concede it to be Paderewski's finest production. This opera was first given at the Court Theatre in Dresden in 1901. The libretto is by Paderewski's gifted friend Alfred Nossig. The plot deals with a gypsy subject. The orchestration of this work is exceptionally powerful but always appropriate. The *Polish Fantasia for piano and orchestra* is widely admired, and some concede to this the place of first honor among Paderewski's compositions; wherever the pianist has played this original and characteristic work it has always produced a furore.

Paderewski has given lavishly of the wealth bestowed upon him by enthusiastic music lovers. Upon one occasion when he had promised his services for a benefit to be held for the Actor's Fund in America, he found that he was unable to come. He promptly sent his check for $1,000, explaining that he was

physically incapacitated. His best known philanthropy in America is the Paderewski Fund, consisting of the sum of $10,000 to be devoted to the purpose of fostering musical composition in America. Once every three years a prize of about $500 is given to some fortunate competitor. Among those who have succeeded thus far have been Henry K. Hadley, Horatio W. Parker, Arthur Bird and Arthur Shepard. The fund was founded in 1900, and is a very gratifying evidence of Paderewski's interest in American musical development. During the European war Paderewski has given enormously from his private means to relieve suffering in Poland.

The philanthropies of Paderewski represent an interesting side of his nature. His intense seriousness at times makes it difficult to believe that he may be the most youthful and vivacious of men. His friends are well aware of his quick wit as well as his broad general learning. Linguistically speaking, his accomplishments are very exceptional even for a Pole. He speaks English, for instance, with so slight a suggestion of an accent that it is not noticeable.

To the musician, Paderewski's attainments in the field of world politics are an unending source of pride and inspiration. Not since the time of the composer-conductor Abate Agostino Steffani,—the Venetian choir boy, who became Court Organist of Munich in

1675, took Holy Orders in 1680 and later became Privy Councillor and Envoy Extraordinary of the Court of Hanover,—has any professional musician of distinction risen to such high political office as Paderewski? At the Peace Conference at Versailles, it was reported that he was the only representative capable of making addresses in the majority of languages of the nations participating.

The writer gratefully acknowledges his thanks to the Hon. W. Kwapiezewski of the Polish Legation, at Washington, for the following information regarding Mr. Paderewski's activities during the Great War.

"Before the Great War he was already very actively supporting various Polish organizations, the purpose of which was to keep up Polish patriotism. As soon as the War broke out in 1914, he, and the great Polish Novelist, Henryk Sienkiewicz, organized the Polish Victims Relief Fund with headquarters in Switzerland. That organization of which Mr. Paderewski became Vice-President, cared for the numerous Polish war sufferers in the various parts of Poland, and was practically the only large Polish organization during the War that reached all three parts of Poland, and thus represented not only a philanthropic but also a national patriotic bond of union. Mr. Paderewski was most active in obtaining moral and financial support for his committee both in the allied countries

and in the United States, and during his numerous journeys in this connection he constantly pleaded the cause of Poland's independence."

"At the same time he was one of the main-stays of the political activities centering around the Polish National Committee of Paris, which was recognized by the Allies as the official representation of Poland. As members of the Polish National Committee, and as its representative before the Government of the United States, Mr. Paderewski with untiring energy has been working for the cause of the Allies and Poland. An army of 25,000 Poles was raised by him in this country to combat in France with the common foe. As soon as the armistice was signed Mr. Paderewski sailed for Poland and was hailed as the liberator of his country."

"In January, 1919, he became Prime Minister of the Polish Republic and at the same time Foreign Minister. He was also one of the Polish delegates to the Versailles Conference and pleaded the case of Poland when her various frontiers were being determined. His Cabinet was composed of representatives of various groups and his main object was to create unity of the Polish Nation and to weaken the anti-Polish tendencies of certain western countries, inspired mainly by German and Jewish influences. In the elections to the Polish Assembly on January 26th,

1919, he was elected Representative of the City of Warsaw and has retained that seat until the present time."

"He resigned the Premiership in December 1919. It is rather a testimony to his great statesmanship that he was able to retain that exalted office for eleven months during Poland's first year of independence when she faced numberless internal and foreign difficulties. Later he was made one of Poland's standing representatives in the Assembly of the League of Nations. On resigning that position he was given the standing of Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, which he still retains."

Since then Paderewski has again toured the new world receiving artistic receptions even greater than his earlier triumphs.

AUTHORITIES

"The Real Paderewski" was written for the Etude by its editor James Francis Cooke, February 1918 and published in "Music Masters, Old and New", copyright 1918 by Theo. Presser Co.

This February Etude also contains a biographical dictionary of about one hundred noted musicians born in Poland.

Of the biographies and appreciations of Paderewski, probably the best that have ever been written are those of Henry T. Finck (out of print), Edward A. Baughan and Alfred Nossig. There is an excellent life in Polish by Opienski, the noted Polish critic.

JAPAN AND ITS LEADERS

PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC

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PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC

By JULIAN STREET

JAPANESE history, as taught in Japan, begins with the Emperor Jimmu (Jimmu Tenno), 660 B. C., alleged to have been a grandson of the Sun Goddess who created everything. Jimmu is therefore counted divine, and as it is claimed that the 123 subsequent emperors are his descendants, they too are regarded as having attributes of divinity. This may not be believed by the more sophisticated and scientific Japanese, but is, I think, generally believed by the masses.

The first dozen centuries of this Japanese history is however regarded by cold-blooded historians from other lands as mythology, and the continuity of the Japanese Imperial family is questioned, though it is admittedly the oldest reigning family in the world. From an Occidental standpoint it would be considered that the directness of the line was impaired by reason of the fact that many emperors have been the sons of concubines; but in the Orient a different view is

taken—though it may be remarked that in Japan the practice of concubinage is rapidly losing favor.

The Japanese think in terms of family. The family, not the individual, is the national unit. The head of the family decides all important questions for all members of his family; this applies not only as concerns his sons and unmarried daughters but all their offspring. But when a girl marries she renounces her own people and comes under the absolute domination of her husband's family, in which relation her important acts are governed by the head of that family, while in unimportant affairs she is under the thumb of her mother-in-law, in whose house she generally lives. The mother-in-law is greatly dreaded by Japanese brides. Having herself been bullied as a young married woman, she is curiously lacking in compassion when her turn comes, and it is said that she customarily takes out on her daughter-in-law all the pent up resentment she feels at the treatment accorded her, earlier in life, by her own mother-in-law.

Some idea of the complete ascendency of the family system may be gathered from the fact that marriages are arranged, not by the individuals concerned, but by the families of the bride and groom, and that a man under the age of thirty cannot legally be married without the consent of the head of his family.

The Emperor is rated as the head of all heads of families.

Shintoism, the State religion, is a religion of ancestor-worship and Emperor-worship, while Buddhism, which was the chief religion of the land before the Government took Shintoism under its wing, some decades ago, is in its higher forms a religion of philosophy, and in its lower forms one of panoply and superstition, in which fortune-telling is practiced by priests.

With the elevation of Shintoism, the Buddhist church (which had long been rich and powerful, and which at one time, some centuries ago, came near to getting political and military control of the Empire through its fighting priests) was obliged either to go out of business or to conform to Shintoism. The latter course was taken, with the result that to-day the two religions exist side by side, there being in most Japanese homes a Buddhist shrine and a Shinto god-shelf.

The samurai of Old Japan was a fighting man in a feudal system somewhat resembling that of medieval Europe. With the exception of a class of unattached samurai known as *ronin,* every samurai acknowledged allegiance to an overlord called a *daimyo,* the head of his clan. In the Feudal Era, which broke down with the Restoration (1868), and was definitely abolished by Imperial edict in 1871, there were between two and three hundred clans, some weak, some

very strong, each with its daimyo, its lesser lords, and its samurai. Among samurai, also, there were several grades, and with a very few exceptions (among them some rich farmers and champion wrestlers) no Japanese below the rank of samurai was permitted to wear a sword. Under this system farmers were more or less respected, but merchants and shopkeepers were as dirt under samurai feet, and it is said that the traditional degradation of trade was responsible for the low order of business morality found among small Japanese merchants for some time after the termination of the Feudal Era. Conditions in this respect have, however, rapidly improved, until to-day it may be said that Japanese financiers are men of very high type, and that the average of integrity amongst small merchants is, upon the whole, quite as high as in most other countries.

Since 1871 the samurai has had no legal status as such, but samurai blood is still regarded as something to be proud of. There are at the present time about a million families, forming what may be termed the gentry, which boast samurai descent.

With the abolition of the clan system the clan spirit was not by any means extinguished, and though it is now rapidly dying out, some trace of it may still be noticed in political life. The navy has, for example, until quite lately been run largely by men of

the old Choshu clan, while men of the Satsuma clan, of which the late Field Marshal Prince Yamagata was a member, have controlled the army.

All this is important to a proper understanding of Japan, particularly with regard to the attitude of the people toward the Emperor, for it will be seen that the Emperor receives from his subjects an allegiance that is triple: a family allegiance, a religious allegiance, and the allegiance of the subordinate to the overlord.

This fact, coupled with some others, has caused Japan to be likened to pre-war Prussia, but the comparison is, in my judgment, far from just. Certainly the people have a reverent attitude toward the Emperor and the Imperial family, but the exhibition of this reverence is not carried to any such lengths as it used to be. Thus, though the police pass down the street in advance of the Emperor, for the purpose of seeing that no second story windows are occupied (it being considered improper for anyone to look down upon the Imperial person), the crowds no longer stand with bowed heads in advance of his coming. Lately, too, they have been allowed to cheer—which is a new departure. The excursion of the Crown Prince to England in 1921 was also a novelty, it having been the rule in the past that neither the Emperor nor the Crown Prince ever left Japan. It was on the return

of the Crown Prince that cheering was inaugurated. Also motion-pictures were taken of him on his trip, and the showing of these to the populace marked a further gap in the hitherto exaggerated barrier between the Imperial Family and the people. Evidently the Japanese Crown Prince, or his advisers, have perceived that popularity, such as is enjoyed by the young Prince of Wales, is more to be desired by a royal personage of the present day, than mere blind reverence.

The age of Feudalism began in 1192, when the "barbarian-subduing generalissimo" Yoritomo usurped Imperial power. He did not, however, usurp the title with the power, but like the other shoguns who followed him over a period of nearly seven centuries, allowed the Imperial court to exist in an enfeebled state. There were several series of Shoguns, the last of them being those of the Tokugawa, dynasty, which came into power in 1603 and remained in control of the country until 1868, when occurred the Imperial Restoration.

Though the overthrow of the shogunate did not come until fifteen years after the visit to Japan of the American fleet under Commodore Perry, it was unquestionably a direct result of Perry's visit.

Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, U.S.N. was sent out by President Fillmore, in 1852, to negotiate

a trade treaty between the United States and Japan. This treaty was duly negotiated in the following year, and Perry returned to the United States in 1854, bringing word of it. It was not with the Emperor, but with the Shogun that the treaty was arranged.

For more than two centuries prior to Perry's visit, Japan had been a hermit nation, declining to admit foreigners or to trade with them. That had come about because of fear of the Portugese Jesuits who settled in Japan in the middle of the 16th century and made many converts. After the Jesuits had been there for nearly a hundred years, however, the Japanese, whether justly or not, became apprehensive, and in the belief that these foreigners aspired to gain political control of the country, expelled them, killing not a few, and dealing harshly with the native converts they had made. Thenceforward no foreigners were allowed in the land, the prohibition against them being carried to the point of firing on foreign ships offshore, an activity which in some cases brought reprisals.

A popular euphemism much used in speeches, when statesmen discuss Japanese-American relations, describes Commodore Perry as having "knocked at Japan's door." What Perry actually did was to arrive in Japanese waters with a fleet of "big black ships," anchor, and under the protection of his frown-

ing batteries, go ashore with an armed party and demand audience with the Shogun.

Japan was too weak to resist. The Shogun did not wish to grant the audience but dared not refuse, nor did he dare refuse to sign the treaty.

The Japanese people were, however, not at all satisfied with the situation. Though there were some who, like the Shogun, realized that resistance would be futile, the large mass of Japanese were resentful, and not only maintained an attitude of hostility to foreigners, frequently attacking and killing them, but developed a feeling of hostility to the Shogunate also, because it was through the Shogunate that the treaties had been made.

A number of the great clan leaders were also verging on rebellion against the Shogunate, and finally they seized upon this opportunity, putting forward the Emperor, then hardly more than a youth, as the champion of an anti-foreign party. A battle occurred in which the Shogun's forces were worsted, and soon thereafter the Emperor removed from his seclusion in Kyoto and going to Tokyo took up the reins of government.

There remains, however, some doubt as to whether or not the last of the shoguns, Yoshinobu Tokugawa by name, made any real endeavor to resist the Emperor's forces. His own followers felt at the time

that he had failed them, and there are those who, in the light of history, believe that he actually desired to see the Imperial Family resume its power. At all events the Emperor did not cause Yoshinobu to be executed, but after he had been for thirty years in seclusion brought him to Tokyo and created him a prince of the new regime.

Prince Tokugawa who has for many years been president of the Japanese House of Peers, and who was a delegate to the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, which met in Washington in 1921, is a son of the last Shogun, and the moated palace in Tokyo, now the chief Imperial residence, is the home of Prince Tokugawa's forefathers. Japanese friends of mine have called my attention to the moat and walls surrounding the palace grounds as being out of accord with Imperial tradition; for it is true that Japanese Emperors have not customarily resided in fortified houses, those to be seen in Japan having been built by the great feudal lords. And though—as we are reminded by the recent assassination of Premier Hara—the lives of Japanese statesmen are not safe from murderous malcontents, the lives of members of the Imperial Family have never, so far as I know, been attempted.*

* Since this was written an attempt was made by a radical on the life of the Prince Regent.—J. S.

Fortunately for Japan, the late Emperor (whose posthumous name is Meiji, meaning "enlightenment") was a man of great wisdom and was surrounded by able and patriotic statesmen. Fortunately, too, his reign was long, covering the period of the nation's transition from medievalism to modernity.

He and those nearest to him saw in China and India what was the fate of Oriental nations lacking the military strength to resist foreign powers. Perceiving, however, that the anti-foreign sentiment on which they had ridden into power was an impractical ideal, they did not attempt to abrogate the Shogun's treaties, or to expel foreigners from Japan, but contented themselves with trying to maintain good relations with other powers, at the same time making breathless haste to build up an army and a navy, so that if difficulties should arise in future Japan would be in position to defend herself and to assert her rights. Simultaneously railroads were being built, mines developed, and modern machinery and methods adopted. The very ground seemed to be changing under the feet of the people of Japan. And the change has continued ever since.

Within comparatively few years from the time when military preparation began, Japan was able to win a war against China, and soon after that against Russia, whom with good reason she had feared. Thus,

when hardly out of the swaddling clothes of her new civilization she defeated the two most populous nations of the world.

It is well, when we consider Japanese militarism, to remember that militarism was forced upon Japan by the United States and other foreign powers.

Coming down to our own day, among the great leaders of Japan, when the true story of this troubled time comes to be written, there will shine out the name of Tomosaburo Kato, Prime Minister, Baron and Admiral of Japan, statesman, patriot and practical idealist. While the older Christendom, apostate to its ethics, is rent with hatred and worn out with war, this Japanese officer and statesman, who is ranked by our missionaries as a heathen, who was trained in a navy to blood and iron, and to the stern code of duty known as *bushido,* emerges as one of the loftiest-minded men of his day; a man having faith in mankind, and the courage to back that faith to the utmost. His death was a loss not only to Japan but to the world.

At the Washington Conference Admiral Kato was a conspicuous yet modest figure—a frail seaman, slight and spare of build, with hands delicate and nerveless, as if all the energies of life were withdrawn from the body and concentrated in the brain. Known as the Nelson of the Japanese navy, to the western observer

he seemed inscrutable. But it is also true that, to the eastern observer, our faces are not less inscrutable; and Kato was manifestly observant. Nothing escaped his quiet eye, so dark, so piercing yet so calm.

He was as much the maker of Japan's latest navy as Tirpitz was maker of the German navy, and Fisher, the maker of the British navy. To his finger tips, he was, moreover, an aristocrat, bred to his very bone in the pride of Japan. To the last he was skeptical of a broad electoral franchise and was in that respect held to be a Conservative. Also, he had none but peers as ministers in his Cabinet.

Belonging thus to the hereditary ruling class, it is fair to suppose that he, like others having a like training, cherished dreams of an Asiatic Empire for Japan.

This, then, was the man, who as an Elder Statesman and as Japanese delegate at Washington, was asked by the United States to put all his achievements, including the navy and Shantung, into the melting pot of an international conference and to adopt for his country a creed so liberal that it is accepted by few statesmen in Europe. And hardly had Secretary Hughes made his proposals, when an event in Japan cut off Kato, as it were, from his base. Prime Minister Hara, a Liberal and a believer in conciliation, was assassinated, and Japan was left without a gov-

ernment, Takahashi, who succeeded Hara, having been merely a makeshift.

Japan was seething with suspicion. Much of the press and all of the militarists were fiercely anti-American. When Prince Tokugawa, President of the House of Peers and Admiral Kato's colleague at Washington, returned to Japan, there were hostile demonstrations. Kato himself, on coming home, was placed under special protection of the police.

He belonged to no party; he had become simply the spokesman of fairness instead of force in foreign policy; and on that understanding, despite the clamor, the best minds in Japan made him Prime Minister, in which high office he continued to live up to his high principles.

Shantung was evacuated, and although on the departure of the Japanese, Chinese brigands there at once resumed their normal activities, the evacuation holds good. Siberia was also evacuated and is again absorbed into Russia. Japan has kept her promises in Asia to the letter. Yet, to her imperialists, these promises were as unpleasant as would be an undertaking forced on the United States by other Powers that, here and now, she should leave the Philippines and her other outlying possessions.

It may be argued that, in Asia, Kato was guided solely by enlightened self-interest. Whatever civil

wars were proceeding in China, one thing was quite certain—that the Chinese, at any rate in the South, would boycott Japanese trade as long as Japan remained in Shantung. Also Kato was evidently doubtful of the Siberian adventure, which was a purely military affair, costing a colossal sum of money and certain to get Japan into trouble with Russia whenever Russia should recover her national influence. But, at least, we may say that Kato's self-interest *was* enlightened, nor was the reflection of his enlightenment limited to his dealings with Asia. He had every chance of wriggling out of his pledges to reduce the Japanese navy. Those pledges were incorporated in a treaty, signed by five Powers. Until the five Powers ratified the treaty, it did not become binding on any one of them. Two of the Powers, France and Italy, did not ratify for a long time and it would have been open to Japan, therefore, to renounce her bargain. With the Japanese workers in the dockyards protesting against the loss of their jobs, and with the armament firms on his back, there were influences brought to bear on Kato which would have led a weaker man to abandon the principles of the treaty, but he neither flinched nor faltered. Not only did he reduce the Japanese army as much as he dared, but he announced that, whether Italy or France signed the treaty or not, he regarded it as a gentlemen's

agreement and would abide by it. This declaration applied undoubtedly to the whole range of treaties which determine the future of the Far East and guarantee the open door. It meant that Japan intends, for the future, to work with the United States and Britain and not against them.

It was Kato's wisdom, more than any other thing, that finally broke the folly of Japanese imperialism. Through him the common people have realized what is meant by relief from taxation. Largely through his sagacity, the hideous and idiotic doctrine of an inevitable war between Japan and the United States is no longer believed in by intelligent people in either land. Kato stood at the crossroads and pointed out to his countrymen the better path to prosperity and peace.

PART II

PREMIER PERSONALITIES

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WOODROW WILSON

1856-1924

THE REPUBLIC AT WAR

BEACON LIGHTS OF HISTORY

WOODROW WILSON

THE REPUBLIC AT WAR

By P. W. WILSON

WOODROW Wilson is dead; with great simplicity he has been buried in the Episcopal Cathedral at Washington; and the time has come perhaps when the world, which watched and wondered at this astonishing man, may arrive at a single impression, detached at once from passion, from panegyric and from propaganda. About this man, about all men, there is less mystery than we imagine. Woodrow Wilson is a great man who handled great crises but he is human; he can be understood.

About him, surely, the first and the fundamental fact is his Scottish blood. It is true that, on December 28th, 1856, he was born at Staunton, Virginia, a Southern American. It is also true that of his grandfathers, James Wilson, who landed at Philadelphia

in 1807, was of County Down in Ireland, while Thomas Woodrow, of Chillicothe, Ohio was for sixteen years, a minister at Carlyle in Cumberland, whence he emigrated by way of Canada. But, by heredity, Woodrow Wilson is neither Irish, English nor Canadian; he is as much a Scot, a Presbyterian and an elder as if he had lived his life in Edinburg or Aberdeen. He belongs to that small but superb nation, north of the Tweed, which is bred in disciplined poverty, nourishing the body on porridge and the soul on predestination. It is Scotland that supplies the British Empire with heads of departments, and by an easy parallel, the United States with this President. In Woodrow Wilson, the Scottish strain is not only pure but refined in the white heat of that furnace of faith, called the province of Ulster. He has all the qualities, all the sensitive and angular impulses of a thoroughbred. He is high-spirited as a racehorse. By a pedigree, religious rather than royal, he is an aristocrat, and he knows it. Macallum-More himself was not prouder of the claims of a long and unchallengeable descent.

Of all fallacies, few have been so foolish as the sayings that the Scot is cautious. In manner and diction, he may be reserved, but in thought and in deed, the nation of Bruce and Wallace, of Lochinvar and the Black Watch is unexcelled for audacity.

Woodrow Wilson is blessed, some have said cursed with this same uncontrollable courage. He calculates chances but he fears no consequences. As prisoner of the White House, he boldly broke the bars, crossed the ocean and threw hook, line and sinker into the troubled waters of Europe. Others prepared the income tax; but he applied it, fifty-fifty, to the muttering millionaire. He entered slowly into war but when in it, he made the military draft immediately universal. His doctor warned him in 1919 that if he attempted to swing the circle for the League of Nations, it would be at the risk of his life, but his view was that better men than he had died and defying the doctor, he hazarded his doom. In silence, he has the audacity which Danton revealed in speech, and he may fairly be remembered as the Rupert of idealists.

The big chance is not only his life but his game. It is for immense, if imaginary stakes that he plays solitaire of an evening, recording his gains and losses with the eagerness of a gambler and so amusing himself in a kind of mental Monte Carlo.

In Scotland, the question has been for centuries whether the country shall be run by the landlords or the schoolmasters. Shall birth or knowledge determine the sources of power? Hence, the enthusiasm in Scotland for education. It is an enthusiasm, not confined

to the few and cultured but spreading over the many and the poor. Woodrow Wilson was nutured in the democracy of brain. He studied the rule of kings and Congresses and declared for the rule of the scholar. Of the vast system of Universities, colleges and schools which spreads over the United States and is still the amazement of the European, this man has been the finished product. At Princeton, he graduated, became Professor of Jurisprudence and Politics and was promoted to be President. Law he read at the University of Virginia and, in a post-graduate course, at John Hopkins, where he won the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by an essay on *Congressional Government* which has become a classic. To complete his academic experience, he lectured for a time at Bryn Mawr and at the Wesleyan University of Middletown.

It is not for its own sake alone that either Scotland or American has ever valued knowledge. Kelvin and Edison were master-scientists but they were both careful to reserve their patents. Wilson was never a pedant. What he wanted was the scholar among statesmen and the statesmen among scholars. He read widely but his learning was derived, not based on original research. He treated books as servants not as masters and in his class he was only 41st out of 122. He believed in study but he subordinated

study to the paramount claims of career. He wanted to know but he also wanted to govern. Even as a lad, he printed his earliest visiting cards—*Woodrow Wilson, United States Senator from Virginia.*

Wilson is son and grandson of the Manse. By this tradition and training, he inherited at once his father's still remembered dignity and his father's absorption of the Bible. That volume, heard twice daily and expounded on Sunday, grew with the years into the very marrow of his mind, and of its influence, he could never divest himself. The exquisite lucidity and fine cadences of the King James' Version tuned the ear of the President to a style of speech and writing which, in this polyglot land, has been an acknowledged contribution to the language of citizenship.

One of Woodrow Wilson's difficulties has been to speak without meaning too much. He learned to be lucid without also learning how to be obscure. Too often were his words loaded with unnecessary dynamite. At the bar of public opinion, he has been tried more than once, not for his policy, as carried out, but for his phrases.

For instance, in his first annual message to Congress, delivered in person on December 2nd, 1913, Wilson said that his attitude towards Mexico would continue to be "watchful waiting." If he had quoted

Pitt's dictum that patience is the highest virtue in a statesman, the critics would have been checkmated. But, as a literary man, he took a chance and stood fire on his own headline. His "watchful waiting" became the subject of as many sneers as Asquith's "wait and see."

Yet his policy in Mexico did not differ materially from the policy of Mr. Taft, who preceded him, and President Harding who came after. Amid the bloody happenings in that distressful land, there was much that would have provoked a European State to intervene. Many Europeans held that, under the Monroe Doctrine, the United States ought to keep order and many Americans agreed with them. In 1913, troops were landed at Vera Cruz, and in 1914 General Pershing did cross the Rio Grande. Attempts were also made to influence the situation, either by imposing or by lifting the embargo on the importation of arms into Mexico.

But while dealing out daily his doses of opportunism, what Wilson meant in Mexico and what he achieved were plain. Whatever others argued, he knew that the choice lay between peace and a war of conquest. That was the only choice. Against an invader, it was clear that all parties in Mexico would unite and would be supported by all parties in all Latin American Republics. A war in Mexico would

not be either brief or bloodless. The only straight thing that many Mexicans do is to shoot, and living in a sparsely populated land, they speak the language which has given to the world that formidable word, *guerilla*. In Spain, it was *guerilla* that wrecked the plans of Napoleon. In South Africa, it was *guerilla* that for years held up the entire British Empire. And in Ireland also, "guerilla" has caused trouble. Americans, who wanted to clean up Mexico, did not always realize that armies of a million would be required, with billions of treasure. Such a war would have meant an annexation of Mexico, a Mexican vote in Congress, and a Mexican demand for Home Rule. With Europe expecting war, waging war or emerging from war and with an unexhausted Japan prepared, if need be, for another war, an embroilment of the United States in Mexico—which the extreme militarists both of Germany and Japan desired—would have been, surely, a calamitous entanglement.

To the influences which demanded intervention, therefore, Wilson said, in effect, that men put their money into foreign countries at their own risk. For the protection of their investments, they are not entitled to demand the use of the Army and the Navy, paid for by the citizens as a whole and manned by citizens, who should only be called upon to risk their lives for a national as distinct from a private interest.

How clamorous was that interest could be heard best when Wilson's own counsels were silenced by illness. Just in time, Woodrow Wilson was able to exert his final prerogative and the scene in which a stricken President received certain Senators to his bedside and heard their case for intervention, only to set it aside, is not without drama. Watchful waiting was resumed.

Wilson was not only a scholar and teacher. With his pen and typewriter, as with his voice, he had the advantages and also the limitations of an artist. His lectures, like his speeches, were easy in diction, gracious in delivery and spontaneous in thought. The gestures were few; the tone, not loud but clear. It is no matter of surprize that youth found fascination in such a professor. The appeal was ever to those virtues of hope, of faith, of fair play, of friendship which youth loves. The trouble in later years lay largely in the fact that he had to deal with men who were no longer young and could not submit either their minds or their wills to such instruction.

Not only in manner of utterance, but in life itself, did he pursue his art. In method as in logic, he sought beauty. What Rembrandt achieved by the utter accuracy of a stroke of his brush, Wilson found in utter punctuality, in the order of his mental pigeon-holes, in doing the right thing, as he saw it,

in the right way and at the right time, in concentration on one subject and detachment from all others. It was his conscious and deliberate way of handling affairs. He cultivated what he called "a single-track mind." And this, again, was a tool, both keen and double-edged.

As an artist, he had temperament. No one except an artist can appreciate quite what that means. In his nature, there were "exposed perceptions" which, like exposed nerves, could feel intensely, not pleasure only but pain. Once let him accept a man as comrade, and the contact developed into affections far more intimate than the business in hand. To differ from such a man was a discomfort and even an agony and to meet the man, after such difference, was an effort. Because he felt too much, Wilson sometimes seemed ungrateful. What might have been merely a rift in argument was treated as a breach of amity. And the Napoleon of altruism sacrificed, one by one, an incomparable staff of devoted marshalls.

Wilson thus gained the ill reputation of "a political ingrate." Broadly the enemies he made or the friends he estranged fell into classes. First, there were men like Colonel Harvey or some of "the bosses," who for their own reasons ran Wilson, whether for the Governorship of New Jersey or the Presidency, undoubtedly contributing to his success, only to find

later that his idea of the public interest relegated them to the hospitality of a doormat. Secondly, there were intimates in thought and ideal—Walter H. Page, for instance, or Colonel House—who worked with Woodrow Wilson for his own lofty ends, yet were cut off from the heritage of his comradeship with a bare syllable of recognition. The very loyalty with which they accepted the verdict was the measure of its strange severity.

The letters, written by Page as Ambassador in London, are now history and Page has his place in Westminster Abbey. But from those letters, it is obvious that while Page wanted an early intervention by the United States in the war, Wilson insisted on a neutrality extending as he said to the mind itself. When Page came to Washington, Wilson did not want a battle royal on this issue and therefore he did not grant Page an interview in which he feared doubtless that too much might be said on both sides. And, later, a similar situation arose in the case of Colonel House.

Wilson's behavior was determined by his health which for a man, in the rough and tumble of politics, was never robust. From boyhood, onwards, he suffered, when under a strain, from digestive weaknesses, which, for a statesman, are a peculiarly trying handicap. There were days when he had to keep quiet;

it was not pride; it was not rudeness; it was simply physique. The day was too short to greet every Governor who left his card and chat with every Congressman who called. And each moment of the day belonged, not to the President, not to the Governor, not to the Congressman, but to the country. That, at least, was Wilson's view. "The people", he would say, "have elected me to think out their problems" —and thought—too lonely thought, perhaps—was to him a solemn trust.

Wilson's method included utter play as well as utter work. When he relaxed, the relaxation was complete. Over his pleasures, he was as unwilling to compromise as over his principles, and his pleasures were common pleasures. Unlike Gladstone, he never pursued Homer in his spare time. He golfed. He cultivated the movies. At Keith's Vaudeville, he spent regularly an evening a week. He liked pleasant and vivacious company. Above all, he has been, throughout his life, domestic. Wherever he has dwelt, he has made a home. The personality that seemed cold and forbidding to the world, surrendered itself without reserve to the family which grew up around him and especially to his wife of twenty-nine years' association. Ellen Louise Anson was, like her husband, a child of the Manse and to her husband, she bore three daughters. Whatever were Woodrow Wil-

son's battles abroad, on his own hearthrug, he met his match in repartee among these young people.

In August, 1914, Woodrow Wilson, having won the White House, was widowed. With Germany marching through Belgium, a President of the United States was called upon to accompany into Georgia all that was left to him of the lady who had loyally partnered him in so many exacting enterprises. It was a heavy blow. But it was more than that. It was a public calamity. Under the Constitution, Wilson could not resign. He had to carry on. Yet he could only carry on if his mind were at ease with itself. In Great Britain, at that very period, private griefs contributed to the interruption of three great careers. Asquith, Grey and Bonar Law were all weakened as public servants because they mourned their nearest and dearest.

It is time, perhaps, to write plainly about Woodrow Wilson's second marriage. It was the family of his former wife that most strongly approved of the decision by which, in December 1915, the President married Mrs. Norman Galt, formerly Miss Edith Bolling of Wythesville, Virginia, a lady of a fine old Southern stock. Of Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, it is enough to say that, through years of great strain, through sudden vicissitudes of success and failure, of sickness and of health, of adulation and abuse, of

sycophancy and of slander, she has accompanied her husband, as serene in the limelight, whether of the United States or of Europe, as in the sudden plunge into the obscurity of retirement, and defeat. From the malice which assails the private lives of statesmen who hold Liberal views, Woodrow Wilson has been no more immune than was Gladstone. It is an open secret that, in one case as in the other, the insinuations were exploded wherever they were investigated.

In one instance, the virulence which Woodrow Wilson aroused against himself caused international perplexity. After the Treaty of Versailles had been signed, Great Britain sent to Washington perhaps her most widely trusted statesman, Viscount Grey, who had been, for ten years, her Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He was a convinced supporter of the League of Nations and he admired the President. But he was not received and he left the country, unrecognized. Technically, there were other diplomatic envoys, similarly the victims of the President's illness. Actually, the case of Viscount Grey was a special case. In his entourage, he was, perhaps, unlucky. Amid the gaieties of the capital, someone from the Embassy had been so indiscreet as to be present at conversations, and possibly to join in them, which, as reported, must have been an offence to the White House. With that loyality which in Grey was some-

times misplaced, the Ambassador stood by his obscure subordinate; and the interests of mankind suffered. It was only the Prince of Wales who visited the invalid in his sickroom.

As an artist, Woodrow Wilson had to be, like all artists, a soloist. No picture has been painted, no poem has been written, no music has been composed by a Committee. It is on this principle that the United States is governed. While England is a country of Committees and compromises, America is a land of Presidents and edicts. Not only is there one Executive at Washington, but there is one Governor in each state, one Mayor in each city, and one President in each University, College and Corporation. President Wilson had to play the lone hand. He had understudies; but not colleagues. Men might act for him. Men might act under him. But no man could act with him. "With the President," said Colonel House, "I never argue."

With his understudies, Wilson seldom interfered. Having chosen General Pershing, he supported him. So also with Newton D. Baker, the Secretary of War. And so with Bainbridge Colby, his last Secretary of State. But the understudy had no existence, apart from Woodrow Wilson's own will. When he differed from Colonel House at Paris, Colonel House had perforce to fade away. When he dismissed

Lansing, it was a dismissal into outer darkness. Similarly, with George Creel.

That Wilson used men, dropped men and seldom picked them up again is history. In other countries, there are cushions on which such men fall. The United States usually offers the pavement and in the case of Mr. Lansing, the blow of the boot was heard throughout the planet and even beyond. What Wilson in health would have managed with a smile, Wilson from his sickbed only accomplished by the mailed fist. Not only did he write a terrible letter. But it was a letter that based the dismissal on other than the real grounds. Why Lansing had to depart was not his fondness for legalities rather than practical statesmanship, but his acquiescence, as Secretary of State, in a Mexican adventure which was rapidly drifting to war.

Wilson's inability to work with other men must not be unduly emphasized. He could and did delegate. He could and did discuss and listen. He could and did inform himself on the facts. But the final decision was solely his own. In the British sense, there was no Cabinet or other collective responsibility. There was no such initiative by the Cabinet as is manifest in the case of Secretary Hughes when he led the Washington Conference. Like Louis XIV, Woodrow Wilson was his own foreign minister. He lost

from his Cabinet therefore, two men, who—though very different in temper, were both men of strong personality. The one was Lindley Garrison, his Secretary for War, who in 1916, when the country was still neutral, wanted conscription. The other was William Jennings Bryan, the Secretary of State, who was still for peace. Between the Scylla of Preparedness and the Charybdis of Pacifism, the President had thus to steer the Ship of State; and the prophets of both evangels left him to it.

If this happened among Democrats, it was clear that Republicans of a prestige not less than that of Garrison and Bryan could expect no kindlier fate if they approached too near the throne. It was not quite enough to say that Wilson was a party man. In the United States, every politician and most citizens belong to a party. Wilson was labelled a Democrat but was in fact an International Liberal. And in that distinction lay the secret of many misapprehensions.

To begin with, there was stamped on his mind by his father's preaching the tremendous belief that people in this world are either saved or lost. The conception of mankind as divided into sheep and goats is everywhere present in Woodrow Wilson's code of political conduct. He read Lucy's pictures of the British Parliament and reveled in the combats at Westminster between the Ins and the Outs. Liber-

alism was to the English Liberal the organized public interest. Conservation was the organized private interest. And in the nineteenth century, the struggle between the two was obvious. Wilson's mother had lived a dissenter in a cathedral city, under the shadow of ancient and autocratic families like the Lowthers, and having also lived in that region as a dissenter, and felt that shadow of the squireachry, this writer knows what it was that Wilson drew from such ancestry. It was a great day for Liberalism in Cumberland when Janet Woodrow's boy came as President of the United States to make even with the Lord Bishop of Carlisle.

Reared in the solid south, Wilson found himself among the weaker and poorer folk. What English Liberals thought about the peers, that did he think about the trusts. Deplorable as were the scandals of Tammany, they were, after all, the scandals of the under-dog. But tariffs were the tyrannical instruments of power and wealth. In the one case, the offence was venial; in the other, it was an offense against the Holy Ghost. Whatever task Wilson undertook and wherever he went, he never lost the instinct that people, the wide world over, are to be allotted either to the progressive or to the reactionary camp. To organize the progressives and to confound the reactionaries was his appointed lifework.

It was at Princeton that the first shots were fired. The politics of the University were neither Democrat nor Republican but the issue that arose was the issue that Wilson everywhere raised, and it stirred the country. The question was not whether poor men should be admitted to that ancient seat of learning but what was to happen to them when they got inside. Were there or were there not to be clubs, exclusive, wealthy and luxurious? By proposing the dormitories around the campus, Wilson gave an answer in the negative.

As a Cambridge man, who owned and edited the university journal and presided over the University Union Society, the writer has, perhaps, the right to an opinion on this remarkable affair. Every college at Oxford and every college at Cambridge was built and remains as Woodrow Wilson wanted to see Princeton. At the great public schools and in the House of Commons, the tradition is the same.

But at Princeton, there arose an embittered dispute. Wilson fought hard. It is alleged that he fought at times without scruple. Certainly he left Princeton, split up into parties. Since the Cauplets and the Montagus pursued their vendetta, seldom has there been a feud so deadly. And, in the end, Wilson retired beaten, not always by argument, but by an ill-feeling which fomented misunderstandings and was

backed by money that, finally, reached an overwhelming figure.

Whatever doubts Wilson may have had about serving Mammon as well as God, were probably disposed of by this experience. The east, with its cash, had been against him; the west had taken his side. And as Governor of New Jersey, he was faced by the same kind of conflict. It is the conflict which today has fallen to the lot of Governor Pinchot in Pennsylvania. There as in New Jersey the need of reform was apparent, both to Republican and to Democrat Progressives; and there seemed to be an opportunity for a third party which would incorporate this widespread and general dissatisfaction with politics, as played by both the older "gangs." But the very circumstances of Wilson's election to the Presidency disproved any such possibility of advancing his liberal program. If anyone could have succeeded with a third party, it would have been Theodore Roosevelt. But he failed, and for this reason. While a Progressive he was never other than a Republican. And, similarly, Wilson, while Progressive, could never be other than a Democrat. The Progressive in Wilson and the Progressive in Roosevelt did not and could not grasp hands. What Roosevelt did was thus to split the Republicans and secure Wilson's election by a minority vote And when Wilson went to the

White House, his mind aflame with universal altruism, he knew that he would never have, as weapon to his hand, any other instrument than the Democrat machine. Like Gladstone in 1892, he was pledged to an immense and challenging program, with no adequate vote in the country to support it.

But he held Congress and displayed a vigorous initiative. He reduced the tariff. He established the Federal Reserve Banks. He equalized the Panama Tolls. He took over the Income Tax. And in August, 1916, he forced through the Adamson Law which secured for the railroadmen a statutory eight hour day. These were measures which closed an era of rapid successful, but chaotic development in the United States and opened a new era of economic discipline.

It is often said that when the United States entered the war, Woodrow Wilson should have invited the Republican leaders into his cabinet. It was a great moment for such a great gesture. But, as Disraeli once said of England, the President did not love Coalitions, while his Democrat colleagues loved them even less. He read of what was happening in London. Amid the gloom of war, the Liberal Government of Asquith seemed to the Wilson mind to be one of the few hopeful factors in a dark situation. But a Coalition was demanded and established,

and with it, Wilson was hardly so enamored. For the Northcliffes and the Beaverbrooks and the Carsons who engineered Asquith's fall, he had no use whatever. And their machinations, were to him a warning. He would thus use Republicans at the customary patriotic salary of one dollar a year. But seldom, if ever, in his inner counsels.

There were three Republicans whose exclusion, as it was regarded, aroused a lively resentment. To Woodrow Wilson, Roosevelt was "a big boy", which, in a sense, is a compliment. The man who remains a boy, is no older than he feels. But, in this case, the compliment implied a profound scepticism as to Roosevelt's judgment and ideals. When the United States entered the war, Roosevelt called on Wilson and offered to raise a force and lead it to France. Against this proposal, there were reasons. It might have meant politics in the Army. Roosevelt might have been too big a man to serve under Wilson as constitutioned Commander-in-Chief. But it was a busy period. Efficiency was at a premium. And to leave Roosevelt among the unemployed was to inflict upon him and upon the millions who were devoted to him an undeserved humiliation. There came days when Roosevelt's co-operation might have saved the aims for which Wilson strove in vain.

A second mischance befell General Leonard Wood.

As a soldier, he had doubtless preached Conscription before Conscription was adopted by Wilson. Many soldiers, in volunteer armies, hanker after Conscription. It is their nature so to do. But, with the country at war, the question was not Wood's opinions, nor even the alleged indiscretions in his speeches, nor his ultimate political ambitions, but his tried ability. He trained a great force of troops. As commander in the field, he was denied a chance. His exile to a distant and unimportant camp can only be compared with the method whereby officers, who become dangerous, were relegated by the Sultans of Turkey to an arid region of Arabia.

The third case was, perhaps, the hardest and the most disastrous for the causes which Woodrow Wilson had at heart. The mind of William Howard Taft was doubtless Conservative in its temper. But it was and is a powerful mind, especially when its genial possessor drives his intellect to its full capacity. The trouble with Taft, as President, was not his lack but his abundance of good nature, and there was nothing, as ex-President, which he was not ready to do for Woodrow Wilson. With Frank Walsh, Taft cheerfully mediated in industrial disputes. Throughout the country, he was by far the weightiest exponent of the League of Nations. At the Metropolitan Opera House, not only did he speak

at a meeting with Wilson but delighted his audience with his famous "chuckle" over the defeat at the election of 1912 which Wilson inflicted on him. In dealing with Republicans, Taft, was Wilson's trump card.

On two occasions, Taft was, in effect, snubbed. The first was private but not the less widely advertised. During the war, it was suggested unofficially by Lloyd George that distinguished Americans like Taft and President Lowell of Harvard should visit Great Britain on a friendly mission. These gentlemen therefore consulted the President who at once vetoed the idea. Whatever was the actual language employed at the White House, the version which became current was that, in the President's opinion, the relations between the United States and Britain could not be closer and that it might be well if, after the war, their intimacy were relaxed. In British circles, it was held that this implied censure was hardly deserved and the incident was seriously discussed. Doubtless there was attributed to the President more than he meant; and, perhaps, more than he ever said. But his objection to the proposed hospitality was, none the less, on record.

Of graver consequence was the omission, as it was regarded, of Mr. Taft from the delegation to Paris. Theodore Roosevelt was ill. Elihu Root, who had

astonished Wilson by a speech attacking the Federal Reserve Banks—may not have been in full sympathy with the President's international aims—though possibly such a rapprochement could have been established. But Taft, was, heart and soul, with the President. And his presence, say at Buckingham Palace, would have killed forever the mischievous theory that the receptions to the President in European cities were of a personal or a partisan significance.

In reviewing the background of this great drama, we must bear in mind that, during these years of world wide upheaval, the Constitution of the United States required the nation to hold no fewer than four Presidential or Congressional Elections. This was, indeed, a most disturbing embarrassment from which other countries were free. In Britain, there was no appeal to the country from 1910 till 1918, a period of eight years, and even in 1918, it was held that Lloyd George had wished a dissolution of Parliament for his own ends. No elections could have been less fortunately timed than those held throughout the United States in 1916 and 1918. Archangels themselves could not have refrained from the pastime of playing politics. It was a game played by both parties. While it was claimed for Woodrow Wilson that "he kept us out of war", there were utterances

by Governor Hughes which suggested that he would go further and play "the firm and unflinching maintenance of all the rights of American citizens on land and sea", even to the length of breaking Great Britain's blockade of Germany. Neither side could discuss so delicate a problem as neutrality in the war before audiences in which the votes that mattered, one way or the other, were either pro-Ally or pro-German. The trouble was due neither to Wilson nor Hughes. It was inherent in the electoral situation itself.

To the election of 1918, much the same judgment applies. In this case, Congress alone was in question. The Democrats felt themselves slipping. They were human. And their President was, as they thought, at his zenith. To play the prestige of the President was thus a tremendous temptation. They wrung from him, therefore, a letter which suggested that votes should be cast against Republicans as such, because they had not supported the policy of the Administrative in the war. The letter may not have been read in the sense in which it was written but it split the nation. Millions who had sacrificed time, money and sons to the common cause were speechless with indignation. They saw in the President's mission to Europe a crusade, from which at the outset they were, however, much they sympathized with its altruism, excommunicated.

In reviewing the great drama which opened during the summer of 1914, one can now keep to the main theme. As President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson acted throughout on his own initiative, his own judgment, his own responsibility. Beyond the pale of his political household, there were ever discordant elements and, at the end, a gathering opposition. But within the Executive, it was impossible for there to be what in other countries is called a split in the Cabinet.

What, then, was the actual part thus played by Woodrow Wilson between that fateful date, August 1914 and March, 1921, when he laid down his high office? His first act in the great war was to declare the United States neutral. In this attitude, he was supported at the outset by Theodore Roosevelt nor is it responsibly suggested that any other course was open to him as President. The question that at once arose was whether supplies should be sent by sea to the belligerents. In essence, it was a simple question. Germany wished to prevent cargoes reaching Britain and Britain wished to prevent cargoes reaching Germany. Amid the complications that developed, this and this alone mattered to either side.

By international law, there had always been recognized a right of blockade. It was a right ex-

ercised against Britain and other maritime powers by the Federal Government during the American Civil War. No one anywhere could have complained if Germany had established an effective blockade of Britain or if Britain had limited her blockade to Germany. What happened was perplexity on both sides. Germany could only blockade Britain by means of submarines. Britain could only blockade Germany by including neutral states like Holland in her embargoes. The submarines sank merchantmen at sight, leaving crews and passengers to their fate. The British Navy searched shipping which was destined ostensibly not for Germany at all but for Dutch and Scandinavian ports. The United States, as a neutral, had thus a diplomatic case against both countries. As late as 9th February, 1917, according to Franklin K. Lane, there occurred this incident at a Cabinet meeting in Washington.

In answer to a question as to which side he wished to see win, the President said that he didn't wish to see either side win—for both had been equally indifferent to the rights of neutrals—though Germany had been brutal in taking life and England only in taking property.

Both to Britain and to Germany, the President addressed notes of protest. Both Germany and Britain ignored them. Had Britain admitted

American goods to mid-Europe, she and the Allies would have lost the war.

While Theodore Roosevelt led the pro-Ally movement in the United States, there were still powerful interests, either unconvinced or hostile. Ireland was openly in revolt. German-Americans and their press were naturally inclined to sympathize with the Central Powers. And manufacturers believed that their immense profits from war-contracts would be increased if they added the Teutonic belligerents to their customers. Count Bernstorff, the German Ambassador led an unblushing propaganda which was evidently well financed.

On May 7th, 1915, there occurred an event which, like the sinking of the *Maine*, constituted by general admission a *casus belli*. A German submarine deliberately sank the *Lusitania* off the south coast of Ireland and more than a hundred American lives were lost. Advertisements warning American citizens not to sail in the vessel and rejoicings in her fate when it was accomplished, like the medal struck in celebration of the victory over a British merchantman, were plaint proof of Germany's responsibility, as Government and as nation. Whether the United States would have supported the President, then and there, in a declaration of war, is a question, at once hypothetical and stoutly debated. What

Woodrow Wilson did was to hold his hand. Days before the crime, he had coined the phrase, "too proud to fight." At the news of the *Lusitania*, he repeated it.

That this neutrality was provocative to many critics, is a matter of history. What is not so clearly realized is that Wilson's neutrality was constructive rather than negative. It was not merely that he wished to keep the country out of war. He hoped that he might be able, as a neutral, to hasten peace. His position closely resembled that of the Vatican as determined by the shrewd policy of Pope Benedict XV. Both the Pope and the President were roundly accused of favoring Germany. If both of them were—to quote another of Woodrow Wilson's controverted phrases—"neutral in mind", it was a diplomatic neutrality in which mediation was the aim.

On 18th December, 1916, the President asked the Combatants to state their respective aims. His note has been severely criticized, yet again owing to a misunderstanding, the dispatch did not say that the two groups of belligerents were fighting for the same ends but that they professed to be so fighting. The Allied and the German cases were taken, for that moment, at their face value and Germany was thus deprived of any shadow of excuse for refusing the

intervention of the United States. Yet she declined any approach to an explicit reply. On 22nd January, 1917, Woodrow Wilson again addressed Germany, this time by way of a speech to the Senate. Once more, he employed a phrase which caused the ears of the Allies to tingle. He advocated "a peace without victory", adding "only a peace between equals can last." On this phrase, he insisted that he must put his own interpretation, which interpretation, however, he did not explain in terms as clear as the phrase itself. Now that we have knowledge of what is meant by a victory without peace, Woodrow Wilson's calculated indiscretion suggests the sagacity, not indeed of his words, but of the foresight which led to such words being used. A complete conquest of Germany has not ended militarism in Europe. But if, in 1917, Germany could have been induced to abandon her aggressive aims and her territorial plunder, a real tranquillity in Christendom might have been achieved.

The choice before Germany was now clear. She could obtain a fair liquidation of her terrible adventure and avoid defeat; or she could defy the United States. It was the latter course that she pursued. On 31st January, 1917, she outlawed all neutral commerce to countries in Europe at war with herself, and on 3rd February, 1917, Wilson broke off

relations. It was not a declaration of war but a suspension of diplomacy.

Again, Wilson has been denounced for his peaceful procrastination. But he was acting as, two centuries ago, Sir Robert Walpole acted when he delayed war with France. "Ah," said he, "when he heard the chimes that greeted hostilities, "they are ringing their bells now but soon they will be wringing their hands." Pitt also sought to hold the dogs of war in leash. And Lloyd George was only convinced of war at the fifty-ninth minute of the eleventh hour. A President who failed to exhaust every avenue of peace before saying the ultimate word that means war would be forever bloodguilty.

In the interval between the departure of the German Ambassador, von Bernstroff, and the actual declaration of hostilities, there occurred another disputable interlude. The President sought Congressional authority for an armed neutrality. To be explicit, this meant that guns would be furnished to merchantmen and that, with or without naval assistance, American ships would force their way through to their destination. Congress was at the moment expiring and the measures were killed by a filibuster, on the part of the men, still bent on peace. The assumption was that they were intended only for use against Germany. But it is impossible to ignore the

theory that, had the proposals been carried, immediate and automatic hostilities against Great Britian might have been the result.

In April, 1917, all doubts were dispelled, and from that date until the Armistice was Woodrow Wilson's greatest period. A single suggestion from the White House would be enough to arrest every automobile in its mad career and even suspend every usual industry from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. At a stroke, the draft of men was determined, munitions were organized, plates were rivetted into ships, vast loans were subscribed, and immense gifts of money contributed to funds like the Red Cross. Seldom, if ever, has any nation at any moment in its annals risen at so immediate a bound from the doldrums of diplomacy to the enthusiasm of a great crusade. And amid it all, Wilson spoke like an ancient prophet of righteousness.

In two respects, however, his policy provoked dissent. On the one hand, the United States remained at peace with Bulgaria and Turkey. And on the other, there was a long and persistent endeavor to rescue Austria-Hungary and her young Emperor by means of a separate peace. Neither policy pleased the hot heads. But for both policies, there were reasons which time has justified. By intervention, in Turkey, no conceivable advantage, naval or military, would have been

gained, while an immense missionary, educational and humanitarian asset would have been sacrificed. And the detachment of Austria-Hungary, would have saved a confederation which, as liberalized, would be today the solution of a dozen problems now vexing eastern Europe. Such a breach between Austria-Hungary and Germany would have isolated Turkey and Bulgaria also from the Kaiser, and would have meant, in fact, the end of the war. In 1917, as movements of Prince Sextus, brother of the Austrian Empress Lita, so plainly showed, the diplomatic capture of Austria-Hungary almost come about. In a fatal moment, the last of the Hapsburgs threw his remaining stakes on the Kaiser's last drive against the British and both dynasties went down in a common doom.

On November 11th, 1918, there was signed the Armistice. And there began for Woodrow Wilson the supreme task of helping to secure an equitable and lasting peace. He decided that he must go in person to Paris and the magnitude of the problems there revealed is at least a strong argument for his decision. On the other hand, it has been argued that he surrendered his prestige as sovereign head of the state and sacrificed the advantage of influencing Europe from a distance far removed from her turbulent emotions.

In unravelling the entangelments of the Paris Conference, critics have been too apt to base their verdict upon some phrase, some document, some personal impression, so failing to envisage the drama as a whole. At that momentous negotation, tens of thousands of diplomats, officials, secretaries, typists, delegates, correspondents for newspapers, novelists and men who afterwards knew better than anybody else how it ought to have been done, were gathered and the output, in speech and writing, was a bewildering billionage of words. But the brain of man is finite; in no day are there more than twenty-four hours; with every hour clamoring for a decision and most decisions pleading for a compromise, no man, however masterful, could be omnipotent. It will be seen that on most issues Woodrow Wilson was right. But this does not mean that on these issues, he could get his own way.

The old world had barely survived a terrible operation. Much blood had been lost and the patient was still light-headed under the anesthetic of that passionate propaganda amid which alone wars can now be waged. Even in the United States, there was still a touch of the delirium and with fever all around him, there were few men whose pulse beat even, whose temperature was normal. Among those men, Woodrow Wilson, General Smuts and Robert Cecil stand

out conspicuous. In a mad world, they were sane. But with the madness, they had for all that to make terms. Faced by lunacy, they had to humor it lest worse befall.

It is now clear that of all cities the Paris of the post-Armistice mood was the least suitable for such a conference. The spirit of the press, of the diplomatists, of the people was solely French; the etiquette, the festivities, the numberless and irritating courtesies were all calculated to delay and to obscure the real business to be done. To some extent, this is true of the rapturous welcomes also extended to Woodrow Wilson in Italy and England. The ceremonies were illtimed. The occasion for rejoicing would have been when peace was ratified, and the war won.

To the superior eye of J. M. Keynes, Woodrow Wilson seemed like an innocent in a thieves' kitchen. The description is a grotesque travesty of the man and the situation. Of the political geography of Europe, Woodrow Wilson, alone of them all, had made a thorough and detached examination. The trouble they had with him was not that he knew too little but that he knew too much and was thus beyond the range of mere sophistries. And the idea that his mind lacked the subtlety of Lloyd George is not less fallacious. Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau understood one another perfectly. The three of them

were men of strong will, clear speech and profound experience of public affairs. But they differed. And the differences meant delay and compromise.

Neither Wilson nor Lloyd George nor Clemenceau were dictators in their own countries. Behind Lloyd George, there was a House of Commons, just elected on the slogans that Germany must pay and the Kaiser hang. Behind Clemenceau lurked Foch and Poincare who demanded the Rhine frontier. And behind Woodrow Wilson lay in shadow the illconcealed hostility always animating the Senate against Treaties, however harmless they may seem to be. The trio had thus to reckon with the line of communications to their authority and everywhere that line lay through country where the press was vocal. To the newspapers, Lloyd George was sensitive, and with reason. His Parliamentary majority was a Coalition in which his fate was held by the Tories. Between Wilson and Clemenceau, Lloyd George wavered.

The common charge against Wilson has been that he was the professor, imperious, doctrinaire, unyielding. Whatever may have been his attitude in the United States, it is the clear truth that in Paris, he yielded too much. "I am this day weak," he might have said with David, "though anointed King; and these men the Sons of Zerniah be too hard for me." Still he fought till he was too faint to fight further

and lay in the Hotel Crillon, helpless with influenza. And he resolved one deadlock by summoning the *George Washington* and threatening to go home. Yet to have broken up the Conference lightly would have been a crime. The old world believed, at any rate, that Bolshevism might easily spread westwards and dissolve what was left of the economy of Christendom. And the terror of the Teuton still stalked in the land. Moreover, Wilson would have been severely criticized, had he failed to bring home at least some kind of a settlement.

His program had been stated to Congress on January 8th, 1918, and is known as the Fourteen Points. It was accepted by the Allies and Germany as the basis of peace. And the habit of assuming that the Fourteen Points were abandoned in the Treaty of Versailles, wholesale, can only be pursued by those who have not refreshed their memories of what the Fourteen Points were. By the Seventh Point, Belgium was to be evacuated and restored, and this was secured at Paris. So was the eighth point by which Alsace-Lorraine was to be handed back to France. The frontiers of Italy, mentioned in the ninth point, may not be accurately "effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality"—witness the inclusion of the German speaking Tyrol,—but, in the main, what was intended, namely, the annexation of *Italia Irrdenta*

or the Trentino, and Trieste, was achieved. The tenth point accords nationality to the peoples of Austria-Hungary and again was fulfilled in substance, if not in every detail, by the creation of Czecho-Slovakia. The establishment of Jugo-Slavia, the addition of trans-Sylvania to Rumania, and the consolidation of Poland, with access to the sea, which notable results also include a genial satisfaction of Points Eleven and Thirteen.

They who now complain that Europe is Balkanized are often the very idealists who, before the Armistice, cried out most lustily for the self-determination of Ireland and other small nations. Wilson's idea of nationality was not less definite but to it he applied certain saving conditions, for instance, that "the relations of the several Balkan states to one another" should be "determined by friendly counsel." Independence with co-operation was his policy for Europe—"the removal"—as he said in Point Two—"of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations"—including Germany—which consented to the peace. Otherwise a map of Europe, subdivided by race, is impossible, as events have shown. Had Wilson's spirit been displayed by Italy, there would never have been a crisis over Fiume. And the same spirit would have solved all the local problems of which Silesia, Vilna,

Memel and Danzig are examples. No treaty—not the sermon on the mount itself—will work as it should in an atmosphere of tribal jealousy.

By Point One, there were to be "open covenants, openly arrived at" and "no private international understandings of any kind." There indeed you have what should have been the very talisman of Wilson's success. What upset him was secrecy. The world really wanted him to win and was ready to share his struggle. But the Big Four met behind closed doors and the case was not stated to the jury. Within the bureaum the bureaucrat rules, and it was in his interest alone that silence was enjoined. Wilson's wand snapped when the censorship was imposed.

Indeed, he was too courteous. For their countries' good, his colleagues among the Big Four needed rougher handling. At times, they should have been seized by the throat and the nonsense clean shaken out of them. Supported by his own condition—"open covenants openly arrived at"—to which the Allies had become a party, Wilson had the right to say, "Very well; you think this—I advise the opposite. The world must know tomorrow morning and I shall tell the world." Few of the old world tantrums would have survived such an ultimatum.

By his Fourteen Points, it is surely clear that the President had a right to insist upon the complete

cancellation of all secret treaties, as a condition precedent to the United States joining with the Allies in the negotiation of a general peace. In the spring of 1917, Balfour visited Washington and mentioned the secret treaties to Colonel House which perhaps was the moment when the United States could have made the above stipulation. No Ally at that critical instant would have dared to resist. Prior to August 1914, Edward Grey negotiated no secret treaty at all, save one of an entirely minor importance. He regarded these treaties, in his own words, as part of the poison gas of war. And while a treaty is not of necessity to be thought wicked in its aims, merely because it is undisclosed, it would have been well at Paris if the problem of peace could have been approached by Powers, not fettered in advance by debts of honor. To what extent, Woodrow Wilson knew of the Secret Treaties is a question of which various views are taken. To a question by Senator Borah, he answered that they came to his knowledge first in Paris. As the Treaties had been widely published prior to that date, and were familiar to students of foreign policy throughout the world, the disclaimer is, perhaps, technical in its application; in any event, President Wilson had every opportunity of knowing. What he depended upon, apparently, was the overwhelming equity of his own alternative. To challenge secret

treaties, already concluded, might have upset both Italy and Japan. The hope was that the peace would automatically liquidate these liabilities and prevent their recurrence in the future.

In Point Six, Wilson declared for the evacuation of Russia and her territorial integrity, assuring her also "of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing." The treatment of Russia was to be "the acid test."

After all, Russia had collapsed in the common cause. She was not a foe but a casualty. Her Bolshevism was more of a disease than a vice. And to hold her heritage, as it were, in trust for the Russia of tomorrow was the best answer to her Communists. Unfortunately, Japan wanted land and France wanted money, while Winston Churchill sometimes seems to have wanted war for its own sake. Instead of following that leadership by Woodrow Wilson to which, in this respect, Lloyd George's best judgment adhered, the Allies played with absurd but calamitous expeditions by adventurers like Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel whose excesses only served to rivet the authority of Lenin yet more firmly over the people. It is characteristic of Woodrow Wilson's tenacity that to the end he declined to recognize the Baltic provinces of Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia, as to the future of which there have been many misgivings. He regarded

them as a dismemberment of Russia. For the same reason, he refused to be a party to the seizure of Bessarabia by Rumania. It is true that when the Czecho-Slovakians were retreating through Siberia, the President sent a small American force to join with the Japanese in assisting their escape. The significance of that diplomacy was, however, not an offensive against Russia but a restraint on Japan. To Russia, the President was loyal.

Had the Russians themselves been more courteous to him, they would have found him to be their best friend. But at the moment when he incurred censure in the United States for the sympathy which he expressed towards the Russian Republic, struggling to the birth, the Soviet Government retorted with insults not only to the President but to the United States.

By Point Ten, Woodrow Wilson enunciated his policy for the Ottoman Empire. For areas, still Turkish, there was to be "a secure sovereignty". To "other nationalities", the promise was "an absolutely unmolested development." And the Dardanelles were to be free for shipping. With Turkey, as we have seen, the United States was not at war nor was the President responsible for the Treaty of Sevres by which in a settlement was imposed on the Near East. But his view was simple and sane. He had too many

friends, interested in the welfare of the Near East, to be under any illusions as to the intolerable character of Turkish rule over a mixed people. Not only did he recognize the British Protectorate over Egypt which has since been modified in the liberal direction that Wilson desired, but he acquiesced in the British arrangements for Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia and in the French mandate over Syria and Cilicia. Indeed, he went so far as to recommend to Congress a mandate for the United States over Armenia and it was Congress that turned this down. Even to the clear judgment of Ray Stannard Baker, the Allies seemed to regard the Ottoman Empire as "booty." The President took a deeper and juster view. He disliked the word empire and all it signified. He wanted the Philippines to be free. But he occupied Hayti and was too good a historian to suppose that European rule over disturbed areas and weaker races has been mere brigandage.

By Point Five, the President stipulated "a free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims", with due recognition of the interests of the peoples to be governed. In Africa, large additions were made to the French and British sovereignties on that continent, especially the latter; but in no real sense were these annexations made by "England." South Africa is a dominion, so auton-

omous as to be able to decide by a free election whether or not she will continue within the British Commonwealth, and to South Africa, the addition of adjacent German territory was considered to be as logical as the purchase of Louisiana from France by the United States. Similarly, to Australia and New Zealand, the allocation of the German Islands in the Pacific, north of the equator to Japan and south of the equator to themselves was regarded as no more than an adoption of the Monroe Doctrine which the United States applies to the islands in the Caribbean.

But to the idealist and to many who are not reckoned idealists, there was here challenged the farreaching question what ought to be the administration of those areas where, according to Rudyard Kipling, "there ain't no ten commandments." To Woodrow Wilson, the world was ripe for a new and larger authority, international in prestige and vision, under which would be held in trust any community of human beings that, for the moment, might need an uplifting guidance. By Point Fourteen, he proposed the League of Nations. It was to be a guarantee alike for nations small and great. It was to be the agency whereby a reduction of armaments, promulgated in Point Four, could be effected. It was to be the background of that freedom of the seas which was adumbrated in Point Two. It was to be the alternative of war.

Over the freedom of the seas, Britain was disturbed. She saw the United States building a vast navy. And she also saw in the United States how powerful was the embittered Irish element. To be told that there must be "absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas" alike in peace or war, "except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part for the enforcement of international covenants" was to be made uneasy. It might be all right but, after her dose of the submarine warfare, Britain was shy of formulas. Events showed that she was ready to scrap thousands of ships, used for war and to share the command of the sea with the United States and Japan. But the move against her "navalism", which she was so soon to surrender at the suggestion of Secretary Hughes, puzzled even the disciples of President Wilson in Britain who regarded his League of Nations with a boundless enthusiasm.

For the real difficulty was not on sea but on land. What President Wilson was up against was the nervous memory of France. In France, there could be no disarmament without a sense of security. And it is in this circumstance that we have the real proof of the confidence which, despite all debates about the freedom of the seas, President Wilson reposed in Britain. He agreed to the joint guarantee of the

French frontier by the United States and Great Britain which the Senate declined to ratify.

By the terms of the Armistice, Germany was not to pay an idemnity covering the cost of the war but reparations only. That is, she was to make good damages inflicted on property, say in Belgium and France. So interpreted, the reparations would have been a reasonable sum. But David Lloyd George, supported by the otherwise sagacious Smuts, and backed by the French, made what economists soon knew to be the fatal mistake of including in the bill for reparations, an item of pensions and allowances for soldiers' dependents which trebled the obligation falling upon Germany. In weariness, Wilson allowed himself to be convinced. And when Lloyd George took fright at the possibility of the Germans' refusing to sign the Treaty, it was found that the President's mind when made up, could not be unmade. As agreed, the Treaty, with this damning blot at its heart, was, therefore, forced down the throats of the German delegates.

In June 1919, Wilson hurried home. He had lost his Liberal bodyguard. He had alienated the German vote. Enraged against him were the Irish, who wrote down the President for slaughter when he declined in New York to receive Judge Cohalan, a somewhat extreme controversialist on this subject, who appeared

in a deputation. With the Irish gathered the adullamites of all persuasions and as the Treaty was submitted to the Senate, it was seen at once to be in danger.

Over its real defect, namely an inordinate claim on German finance, the critics were not emphatic. Their objective was the League of Nations which many held to be the Treaty's redeeming feature. They attacked "Britain's six votes". They declared that, under Clause X, with its territorial guarantee, Ireland and other oppressed countries could be forever held in servitude. They discovered in the League a superstate. They quoted George Washington's wise advice against European entanglements. They were furious at the declaration by the President that the League was so involved in the details of the Treaty that the one could not be accepted without the other.

Yet there were few, at the outset, who conceived it possible that the Senate would go so far as to repudiate a Treaty, so solemnly signed and sealed at Paris. But time was on the side of the critics. As difficulties multiplied around Woodrow Wilson, at home, so did the follies, which his influence had restrained, multiply abroad. And it became evident to many that the United States was "well out of the mess." The League, which had been the hope of peace, seemed now to increase the chances of war.

The boys on the Mississippi did not want to fight distant battles, under Clause X, on the banks of the Danube.

For Woodrow Wilson, one hope remained. He still believed that behind the Senators and the German-Americans and the Irish-Americans and the Republican Party and the Democrat Laodiceans lay a force to which all must bow, the supreme will of the people. As St. Paul in chains appealed unto Caesar, so to the people would a President in fetters carry the people's cause.

In September, 1919, Woodrow Wilson for the last time, left the White House, an active man. He dared all, health, prestige, power, on the hazard of a whirlwind tour—and had he held out, he might—who knows?—have won the day. But that unseen hand which none can escape was laid on him, and one seemed to hear the voice that said, "Enough." He returned, a cripple and lay for weeks between life and death. It was a heavy penalty.

Whether he should or could have resigned under the Constitution is a question for higher authorities to answer. He remained President. Utterly secluded, his little court was reduced to his physician, Admiral Grayson, his secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty, and his wife. As he recovered, he would see some film projected in the ballroom of the White House, and he

took at least two big decisions. He kept the country out of war with Mexico and he declined to compromise with the Senate over reservations to the Covenant of the League of Nations. In the opinion of Viscount Grey, that latter decision was a pity. But he revealed the essential Woodrow Wilson. "I am Scottish on one side," he would remark, "and Ulster on the other. It means that I know I am right not only, but that I *am* right."

With Woodrow Wilson vanished, for the time, much that he stood for. Herbert Hoover, for instance, was refused a Presidential nomination. And Governor Cox, the Democrat candidate, was beaten by seven million votes. Pertinacious to the end, the retiring President accompanied his successor to the Capitol where, for the last time, he was met by Senator Lodge who asked him whether he had any further message for the Senate. "No, Mr. Senator," he answered, "I have nothing further to say to the Senate." The hour struck; he drove to his new home, a private citizen.

There and in the streets, he is seen at times, aged indeed but alert in mind. He asks no mercy. He writes no memoirs. "With my historic sense," he once remarked, "how could I be my own biographer?"

As the end drew on, it was hinted that he would like to enter the Senate and there inspire Democratic

policy; but Providence decided otherwise. "The machine is worn out," he said as he lay, almost speechless, "I am ready." And so he departed.

About this strange lone man, there has been a dignity, even in defeat. On fundamentals, few statesmen have been, as a rule, so dead right. In diplomacy, few statesmen have been so often their own worst enemy. Whether, as years pass, the errors in tact and temperament will be forgotten, and the soundness of judgment brought into a strong relief, is a question impossible to answer in advance. As Samuel discovered, the prophet is not always accepted as a man of affairs. But the fundamental issue to be decided is larger than Woodrow Wilson, his virtues, his principles, his defects. It is whether the New World and the Old World are one or twain. Has God joined them together or are they separate? If the world, old or new, is one, what is to be the link that binds mankind?

LOUIS PASTEUR

1822-1895

BIOLOGICAL CHEMISTRY

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By LEONARD D. ABBOTT

THE indomitable French spirit which, in the last century, has given to the world the novelist, Victor Hugo, the actress, Sarah Bernhardt, the military strategist, Ferdinand Foch, the statesman, Georges Clemenceau, produced in Louis Pasteur a scientist and a medical discoverer who outranks them all in service to humanity. In a newspaper voting contest held in France in connection with the hundredth anniversary of Pasteur's birth, two million votes were cast in his favor, raising him even above Napoleon as the greatest man in French history. This chemist, physicist, bacteriologist, entomologist and experimental biologist is credited with having done more than any other man for the alleviation of human suffering.

The English scientist, Huxley, once estimated Pasteur's discoveries as more than equal, in money value, to the indemnity that France paid to Germany

after the war of 1870. Medical theory can never be the same since Pasteur lived. He has initiated remedies for diseases that actually stagger the imagination. Before his time the haziest notions in regard to the origin and meaning of disease prevailed. He showed how living organisms (germs, bacteria, microbes) penetrate the bodies of men and animals and cause many of the worst maladies. The sanitation of modern cities, the preparation of food and milk, our ideas of hygiene in the broadest sense, our applications of the principles of preventive medicine, are all based fundamentally on Pasteur's discoveries.

The appeal that he makes is almost as strong on the human as on the intellectual side. He was one of those who consecrate their lives to an ideal, and who allow nothing to interfere with the execution of their purpose. His portraits show a face that is grave, sincere and tender. He had "eyes of a rare grey-green color, like the sparkle of a Ceylon gem," his son-in-law, René Vallery-Radot, tells us. He was not a strong man, physically, and in mid-life he was stricken with a paralysis from which he never completely recovered. In the physical sense, he limped from that time on. But there was nothing limping about his mind or his character. A word that was often on his lips was "noble." The passion that dominated his life was loyalty—loyalty to his family, to his country, to truth

as he understood it. His patience was monumental, and he pursued, through good and through evil report, the themes on which his mind was set. While at first sight the subjects that engaged his attention—crystallography, fermentations, the question of spontaneous generation, wines, beers and vinegars, diseases of silkworms, diseases of fowls and cattle, hydrophobia—were curiously disconnected, a deeper insight makes us realize the unity that pervades them all.

He came from peasant stock and was born in 1822 at Dôle in the Jura district not far from the Swiss border. His father, Jean Joseph Pasteur, was a tanner who had served in the armies of the great Napoleon. His mother was the daughter of a market-gardener. Pasteur was devoted to both of his parents, and in later years, when a memorial tablet was unveiled on his childhood home in Dôle, he exclaimed, with emotion he could not control: "Oh my father, my mother, dear departed ones who lived so humbly in this little house, it is to you that I owe everything! Your enthusiasms, my brave mother, you have passed on to me. And you, my dear father, whose life was as hard as your hard trade, have shown what patience in long labors may accomplish. I see you now, after your day of labor, reading in the evening some account of a battle from one of those books which recalled to you the glorious epoch of which you were the

witness. In teaching me to read, your care was to teach me the greatness of France."

There was nothing brilliant about Pasteur's educational record. He liked to draw, and seemed at one time more apt to develop into an artist than into a scientist. In Arbois and Besançon, and in Paris later, he was regarded as a mediocre scholar. It was not until he went to the Sorbonne in Paris, and heard there Jean-Baptiste Dumas, one of the celebrated chemists of the day, that he began to find himself. His first original work was done in connection with crystals. This work created something of a sensation. A young, unknown student, he dared to challenge the conclusions arrived at by one of the scientific leaders of the day, the German savant, Mitscherlich. He proved his points to the satisfaction of experts, and incidentally convinced himself of a reign of law operating not only in the mineral world, but also in animal and vegetable life.

As a result of this work he was offered his first professorship, in the Lycée of Dijon. He taught physics there for a few months, but was not satisfied by a position that left him little time in the laboratory. An appointment to the chair of chemistry in the University of Strasburg was more congenial and led to his marriage with Marie Laurent, daughter of the rector of the university. This admirable woman was

destined to share both the joys and the sorrows of her gifted husband. She bore him four girls and a boy, and endured with him the pangs of bereavement when three of the girls died. No woman has found it easy to be the wife of a genius, and Madame Pasteur must have wished at times that her husband was more like other men. The story may be untrue that Pasteur was so absorbed in his work that he almost forgot to attend his own wedding, but we have an authentic account of a royal parade in Strasburg in which the young bride was anxious to participate with her husband. On the great day Pasteur remained in his laboratory from morning until night. His wife did not reproach him, and was, then as later, worthy of the tribute of one of his friends: "She was not only an incomparable companion to her husband, but also his best collaborator."

In 1854, when Pasteur left Strasburg to become the dean of a reorganized faculty of science in the university at Lille, he identified himself with a new and progressive policy introduced by the Government. He was particularly pleased that it had been made possible for students to do laboratory work, and in an opening address, designed to arouse the enthusiasm of his hearers, he asked: "Where in your families will you find a young man whose curiosity and interest will not immediately be awakened when you put into

his hands a potato, when with that potato he may produce sugar, with that sugar alcohol, with that alcohol, ether and vinegar? Where is he that will not be happy to tell his family in the evening that he has just been working out an electric telegraph? And, gentlemen," he continued, "be convinced of this, such studies are seldom if ever forgotten. It is somewhat as if geography were to be taught by traveling; such geography is remembered because one has seen the places. In the same way your sons will not forget what the air we breathe contains when they have once analyzed it, when in their hands and under their eyes the admirable properties of its elements have been resolved."

This practical attitude toward scientific problems made its own appeal in a town that was dominantly industrial. The manufacturers of Lille soon began to feel that the university could be of real assistance to them. One day, the father of a pupil came to Pasteur to explain the difficulties he was meeting in the manufacture of alcohol from beet-root. Unwittingly, he raised the entire problem suggested by the word "fermentation," and opened up a path of investigation which led to intensive study of the constituent elements of wine, vinegar, beer and milk.

The process of fermentation (as manifested, for instance, in grape-juice) is familiar to all. Every housewife employs fermentation when she uses yeast in

making a loaf of bread; but what *is* yeast and how does it get its peculiar qualities? Up to Pasteur's time a prevailing theory, held by the distinguished Liebig, among others, had been that fermentation is a purely chemical process. Pasteur, though at first he lacked adequate instruments and had little more than a student's microscope and a primitive coke-fed stove, was able to show that fermentation is caused by minute organisms, far too small to be seen by the naked eye.

These organisms are so close to that point where the vegetable and animal kingdoms seem to converge that it would be difficult to say whether they are themselves vegetable or animal. Pasteur compared the yeast of beer to an ordinary plant, and spoke of the "fungus" which turns wine into vinegar. His definitions preceded the application of remedial methods.

The French wine industry, as it happened, was undergoing serious difficulties as a result of deteriorations especially noticeable in claret and champagne. Acid wines, bitter wines, sour wines, were all put under the microscopic test, and then Pasteur proposed the simplest of remedies. He found that by heating wine to a temperature of about 140 degrees Fahrenheit he was able to kill the organisms that were making trouble. There was at first a prejudice against heat-

ing wine, but it turned out to be unfounded in anything that actually happened to the liquid.

A far wider application of the principle of *pasteurization* was made in connection with milk. Every milk bottle at our doorsteps nowadays is, in a very real sense, a memorial to Pasteur. Who can calculate how many infants' lives have been saved, how much vitality has been conserved, how much sickness has been prevented, by the simple devices now embodied in all the great milk-distributing plants?

It was part of Pasteur's contention that putrefaction, as well as fermentation, is caused by germs, and one of the most picturesque experiments of this period, carried out in Switzerland, had to do with putrefaction. Pasteur prepared twenty flasks. Each flask contained a liquid which, under normal conditions, would soon give evidence of putrefaction. The liquid was boiled, and then each flask was hermetically sealed. On the Mer de Glace, near Chamonix, 6,000 feet above sea level, Pasteur broke open the neck of each flask. The air rushed in, carrying whatever germs it contained. Then the flasks were re-sealed. Of the twenty, nineteen remained pure and sweet, and only one showed putrefaction. Thus Pasteur showed that air above a certain level was germ-free, and that germ-free air could not produce putrefaction.

Pasteur's inquiries into the nature of fermentation

culminated in an effort to fathom the obscure problem of spontaneous generation. What was the origin, he asked, of the "mysterious agents" responsible for the phenomena he was investigating? Did they germinate spontaneously, or had they been bred by previous living organisms? Pasteur's friends warned him that he was treading on dangerous ground, but the problem haunted him day and night and would not leave him.

In all ages this question has been debated. It can be traced back even to Aristotle and the Latin poets. Philosophers and naturalists of the ancient world had always been ready to affirm their belief in spontaneous generation. As late as the sixteenth century, eels, salamanders, lizards, flies, bees, etc., had been regarded as somehow mysteriously issuing out of thin air, and a noted chemist had gravely offered the following recipe for making mice: "Place a piece of soiled linen in a vessel; add a few grains of corn; and in twenty-one days the mice will be there, adult and of both sexes."

About the middle of the eighteenth century, two priests, one an Englishman, Needham, and the other an Italian, Spallanzani, had debated the question, and the great skeptic, Voltaire, had taken a hand in the argument. Just before Pasteur had decided to investigate the whole subject, M. Pouchet, director of the

Natural History Museum of Rouen, had proclaimed, in a preposterous pamphlet, that he was prepared to demonstrate that "animals and plants could be generated in a medium absolutely free from atmospheric air, and in which, therefore, no germ of organic bodies could have been brought by air."

Pasteur, in a series of carefully planned and executed experiments, exploded all these superstitions once and for all. He showed how even a piece of cotton-wool, or a mere bending of the neck of a flask, was sufficient, after sterilization, to keep a liquid from breeding life. He also showed that like produces like, and that nothing living comes from a vacuum.

When called, in 1865, to the study of silkworm diseases that threatened to exterminate a business almost as important, in its way, as the wine industry, Pasteur found his previous experiments in microbiology of invaluable help. There were parasites even in silkworms, and they had to be exterminated before the ladies of France could have their silk dresses.

The germ theory of disease more and more took hold of Pasteur, furnishing the key to problems that were to lead him through the treatment of diseases of sheep, cows, swine and fowl to the cure of man himself. Even war, family bereavements and an apoplectic seizure resulting in the partial paralysis from which he suffered during the rest of his life, could not stem his

ceaseless activities. He was as unworldly as he was skilful, and when the reigning ruler of France, Napoleon III, asked him why he reaped no financial benefit from discoveries which were enriching the world, he replied: "In France scientists would think themselves dishonored by acting in such a way."

Pasteur has often been described as the founder of bacteriology, and the title is not inaccurate. But it is well to remember that every step in human progress is based on the work of predecessors. Some two centuries before Pasteur began his work, a Dutch merchant, Antonj van Leeuwenhoek, had made the astonishing discovery that in a drop of stagnant rain-water, under a microscope, may be seen a variety of minute living creatures swimming about. He called them "animalcules," drew pictures of them, and sent his pictures, with explanatory notes, to the Royal Society in London.

We have all seen, when a ray of sunlight invades a room, a myriad of floating forms. Each cubic inch of air is filled with them. They do not appear to be living organisms, and many of them are what they appear to be—specks of dust. But in the dust, as in soil or water everywhere, are living organisms.

Any dictionary or medical hand-book reveals the shapes of these tiny creatures—spherical, rod-shaped, corkscrew. They are colorless, and some of them are

so small that fifteen millions of them would scarcely weigh an ounce. It was Pasteur's peculiar distinction that he undertook their scientific classification and showed their relation to disease.

Farm animals were dying in France from diseases that baffled the cleverest veterinary surgeons. Sheep, especially, were harried by what was known as "anthrax" or splenic fever. Pigs had another disease, and fowls were developing their own particular and malignant kind of cholera. All of these diseases were due to germs.

Pasteur found it a comparatively simple matter to isolate the germs that caused anthrax and chicken cholera. He could infect healthy animals with these germs. He cultivated them, just as a gardener cultivates a plant, and he learned how to diminish their virulence at will.

His next discovery was one of his most important. It appears that after inoculating with cholera-germs a number of fowls one day, he was called away. When he returned and began to inoculate the same fowls and some new ones, he was startled to see that the old group of fowls was now unaffected by the disease, while the new ones showed the usual symptoms. The poison, it was clear, could not only communicate a disease, but could also serve as a protection from it.

Jenner had illustrated the principle in England by

taking a bit of cowpox on the hand of a milkmaid and vaccinating a child. He wanted to prove that a mild attack of a disease, artificially induced under proper conditions, prevents a second attack of the same disease, and he went far toward proving it in this and in countless other cases. Pasteur's theory and practice were in harmony with the same idea, and were soon to find a spectacular demonstration in the famous experiment with sheep and cattle at the farm, Pouilly le Fort, near Melun, in 1881.

Fifty sheep and ten cows were put at his disposal. On a certain day some of the animals were vaccinated with anthrax-germs, and others were left untouched. Twelve days later, all the sheep and all the cows were inoculated. After a further lapse of seven days a group of farmers, physicians, apothecaries and veterinary surgeons who had watched the experiment from its beginning were invited to come and see with their own eyes that, while every unvaccinated animal was dead or dying, there was no mortality among the vaccinated.

This was an experiment that may be said, without exaggeration, to have marked a turning point in the history of medicine. We do not know *why* the body that has once had a disease is immune to a second attack of the same disease; but it is so. Nature, it would seem, is for ever striving to preserve a balance

on the side of health. In the circulating blood of every organ and tissue of the bodies of men and of animals are wandering cells known as blood-cells, or "leucocytes." These leucocytes are, as one authority puts it, the armed patrol which the body maintains to insure the freedom of the blood-channels from predatory microbes. They are police, judge, jury and jail, all in one. They arrest, engulf, digest and destroy the criminal germs. When the body is in a healthy state, and the attack is mild, the intruders are ignominiously annihilated.

One of the practical results following the acceptance of Pasteur's germ theory of disease was a swift advance in medical control of purulent infection. For a long time physicians had felt themselves helpless in face of this difficulty. At the very moment when the discovery of anesthesia had made it possible to operate without causing pain, fatal failures had supervened after almost every operation. There were some who thought that the infection was caused by some gaseous constituent of the air. Others were convinced that this explanation could not cover the facts. The idea had occurred to a young surgeon at Glasgow, Joseph Lister, as well as to Pasteur, that germs from outside were doing the mischief. His theory was confirmed by Pasteur's experiments, and in 1867, in the London *Lancet*, he had written: "A flood of light has

been thrown upon this most important subject by the philosophical researches of M. Pasteur, who has demonstrated by thoroughly convincing evidence that it is not to its oxygen or to any of its gaseous constituents that the air owes this property, but to minute particles suspended in it, which are the germs of various low forms of life, long since revealed by the microscope and regarded as merely accidental concomitants of putrescence, but now shown by Pasteur to be its essential cause."

The prevalence of "child-bed fever" and the high rate of mortality in Paris maternity hospitals afforded an excellent opportunity for the application of Pasteur's antiseptic methods. The question had come up in a discussion in the Academy of Medicine when one of his colleagues was giving what Pasteur regarded as an utterly erroneous explanation of epidemics in lying-in hospitals. Pasteur interrupted from his seat: "What causes epidemics is nothing of the sort; it is the doctor and his assistants who carry microbes from a sick woman to a healthy one." And when the first speaker answered that he feared that such a microbe would never be seen, Pasteur dashed to a blackboard and drew a picture, saying: "Look, this is what it is like." By the use of disinfectants and such strict sterilization of instruments as is now a commonplace in any well-managed hospital, Pasteur was able

to make child-bed fever the exception, instead of the rule.

Another dramatic and highly important principle was worked out in connection with Pasteur's famous hydrophobia experiments. In repeated inoculations of animals he had found himself able to transmit the disease with certainty and to make these animals immune to further attacks. But this, as he saw it, was not in itself sufficient. What was needed was not only preventive treatment, but a method by which the disease might be checked even after it had taken hold. With most diseases inoculation *after* the event was of little value, but in connection with hydrophobia one fact—the slow incubation of the disease, often lasting for several weeks—gave him hope that inoculation following the initial infection might prove effective. He made experiments along this line with two dogs, and was greatly elated when he found that he could inoculate one dog, even after it had been bitten, and could save its life, while the other dog, which had also been bitten, but had not been inoculated, died. He was now obsessed by the thought that the same treatment must be applied to humanity, and even talked of inoculating himself.

His first human experiment in a hydrophobia case, as it turned out, was made in 1885 in connection with Joseph Meister, a nine-year-old Alsatian boy who had

been bitten one day on his way to school and who was brought by his mother to Pasteur for treatment suffering from bites on his face and hands. As successive inoculations of the boy were increased in strength in a daring effort to push the experiment to its very limit, Pasteur became a prey to intense anxiety. He was going through a succession of hopes and fears, and he had nightmares in which he saw the boy suffocating in the mad struggles of hydrophobia. Vainly he tried to convince himself that his fight was a winning one; his sympathy was stronger than his medical knowledge, and, for the time being, was centered in "the dear lad." The treatment lasted ten days and was completely successful.

The story of Pasteur's conquest of hydrophobia was carried to the ends of the earth and resulted in the foundation of the famous Pasteur Institute in Paris. Years before the dream embodied in that institution was realized, Pasteur had been visited by large numbers of sufferers bitten not only in France and in other European countries, but even in America. A group of nineteen Russians, bitten by rabid wolves, had visited him in 1886. Sixteen of these had survived, and the Czar of Russia had presented to Pasteur a diamond cross of the Order of Saint Ann and 100,000 francs toward the proposed institute. The Emperor of Brazil and the Sultan of Turkey had also con-

tributed. Popular subscriptions had been taken up, and philanthropists had voluntarily invested large sums of money in an enterprise that promised so much.

When the institute was opened in 1888 by President Carnot, of the French Republic, Pasteur, broken in physical health but never more alive in a spiritual sense, made a speech of classic beauty in which he said: "Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowadays; the one, a law of blood and of death, ever imagining new means of destruction and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield, the other a law of peace, work and health, ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests, the other the relief of humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory; while the former would sacrifice hundreds and thousands of lives to the ambition of one. The law of which we are the instruments seeks, even in the midst of carnage, to cure the sanguinary ills of the law of war; the treatment inspired by our antiseptic methods may preserve thousands of soldiers. Which of these two laws will ultimately prevail, God alone knows. But we may assert that French science will have tried, by obeying the law of humanity, to extend the frontiers of life."

Pasteur had always identified himself not only with

humanitarianism, but also with religion. He felt that in presence of the overwhelming mysteries of the universe an attitude of faith was the only becoming one. "The more I know," he once said, "the more nearly my faith is that of a Breton peasant." On another occasion he wrote: "My philosophy is of the heart and not of the mind, and I give myself up, for instance, to those feelings about eternity which come naturally at the bedside of a cherished child drawing its last breath." The fullest of all his expressions of religious faith may be found in the eulogy that, as the successor of the deceased Positivist, Littré, he made in the French Academy in 1882, in accordance with custom. He said: "He who proclaims the existence of the Infinite, and none can avoid it, accumulates in that affirmation more of the supernatural than is to be found in all the miracles of all the religions; for the notion of the Infinite presents that double character that it forces itself upon us and yet is incomprehensible. When this notion seizes upon our understanding, we can but kneel . . . I see everywhere the inevitable expression of the Infinite in the world; through it the supernatural is at the bottom of every heart. The idea of God is a form of the idea of the Infinite. As long as the mystery of the Infinite weighs on human thought, temples will be erected for the worship of the Infinite, whether God is called Brahma,

Allah, Jehovah or Jesus; and on the pavement of those temples men will be seen kneeling, prostrated, annihilated in the thought of the Infinite." The same address contained another memorable passage: "Blessed is he who carries within himself a God, an ideal, and who obeys it: ideal of art, ideal of science, ideal of the gospel virtues, therein lie the springs of great thoughts and great actions; they all reflect from the Infinite."

The last-quoted words were later inscribed in the Pasteur Institute, and may serve to illustrate the idea that Pasteur even during his lifetime underwent a kind of canonization. The institute, his permanent memorial, was everywhere looked upon as a model, and inspired some forty similar institutions outside of France. In America, in the great laboratories of our universities and in the Rockefeller Institute presided over by Dr. Simon Flexner, the genius of Pasteur long ago became a living influence.

If the founding of the institute in Paris made certain the perpetuation of the medical discoveries of Pasteur, the reception tendered to him in the same city on his seventieth birthday marked the zenith of the homage paid to his personality. This reception was held in the large theatre of the Sorbonne. Ministers and ambassadors, as well as scientists, were there in force. Pasteur's leading disciples had places of

honor, and even the schools were represented by delegations of boys. When Pasteur entered, leaning on the arm of President Carnot, the band of the Republican Guard played a triumphal march. Lord Lister, who represented the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh at the celebration, was one of the orators of the day, and, at the conclusion of his address, embraced Pasteur in view of the audience. The Paris Faculty of Medicine paid its tribute through its dean, who said: "More fortunate than Harvey and Jenner, you have lived to see the triumph of your doctrines, and what a triumph!"

Three years after the payment of this magnificent tribute Pasteur was attacked by paralysis. On September 28, 1895, following twenty-four hours of semi-consciousness in which he had held with one hand a crucifix and with the other had grasped the hand of his wife, he passed away. His body was laid in a quiet, low-vaulted chapel in the Pasteur Institute, which has well been described as "a holy place of science." The figures of four angels, Faith, Hope, Love and Science, guard his sleep, and wreaths of grape-vines, mulberry leaves, and representations of cattle, sheep and poultry have been used with symbolic decorative effect.

The work of Pasteur is still going on. His last researches were made in connection with diphtheria. He was convinced that diphtheria, typhoid, cholera and

yellow fever could all be conquered, and his faith has been vindicated in ways that his own discoveries made possible.

The latest disease reported conquered is the so-called "sleeping sickness," which has made vast areas of Africa almost uninhabitable for man and beast. It has been known for half a century that this sickness was carried by the tsetse fly, but only in our own day has the actual microbe or parasite that causes the disease been definitely discovered. In the Bayer Chemical Works, near Cologne, Germany, prolonged experiments, initiated by Prof. K. K. Kleine, a disciple of the German bacteriologist, Robert Koch, have resulted in the production of a drug which is said to be able, when injected under the skin or into the veins, to overcome this devastating malady. If Pasteur were still alive, he would bless this application of his method, and would look forward to a time when other remaining diseases, of which we have not yet discovered the secrets, will yield to the patient countermining of the laboratory.

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SARAH BERNHARDT

1845-1923

DRAMATIC ART

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By CHARLES HENRY MELTZER

SARAH BERNHARDT saw the light, for the first time on earth, in Paris, in the apartment of a certain Mme. Guérard, who was later on, for many years, her housekeeper. Her birthplace was an unpretentious house at No. 265 in the old Rue St. Honoré. It stood within a stone's throw of the Halles, the central market-place of Paris, and close to the historic Tour St. Jacques.

For reasons of her own, Mme. Sarah (as her friends all called her) was rather reticent about her parents. Her father was quite well-to-do; her mother, a Dutch Jewess, bore him fourteen children. Sarah was the eleventh of these children—the only one who was to conquer fame.

According to the record of the Conservatoire, the date on which the predestined star of tragedy was born was October 22, 1844. The same record also holds that Sarah's birthplace was not—as she herself

declared—the Rue St. Honoré, but 5 Rue de l'École de Médecine. As to the date I can not speak with certainty, for Sarah told me about twenty years ago that, to secure admission to the famous Paris school, she had to take liberties with facts. So, possibly, she gave a sister's birthplace and birth record as her own. As I recall her words, she put one year on to her age. And she was known then, not as Sarah, but Rosine. She made her début, after carrying off two second prizes—one for tragedy and one for comedy—in "Iphigénie" at the Théâtre-Français. This notable event occurred on August 11, 1862.

I do not know to what good fairy godmother she was indebted for the crowning gift of genius; nor can I tell much about her nursery days. She very seldom went out of her way to talk of them. Perhaps they were not altogether happy. I see her in her early girlhood years, not as a beautiful or even winsome tot, but as a rather wayward, pale, and scrawny child, with tawny eyes that hinted of the East, and a slight twist about one side of her thin lips. No, Sarah in her youth was not a beauty, but, to quote Victor Hugo, she "was worse."

We have all read of Sarah's stay at the Conservatoire and of the way in which she won the heart of Auber (then the despotic head of that academy) by her lovely reading of the fable "Les Deux Pigeons."

It was by this she first won public notice. But it was not till some years later, at the Odéon, that she grew famous. She was predestined to the tragic parts in drama, tho, as some know, she was a mistress, too, of comedy. No one who ever watched her in the *Francillon* of the Younger Dumas is likely to forget how well she played the title part. It was not till she had reappeared at the Théâtre-Français as a full-fledged *sociétaire* of that great house that I saw Bernhardt.

I was then a newspaper correspondent, fresh from the Boul' Mich' and the Sorbonne lecture halls, and had been commissioned to interview her, I believe, about her pictures. I still recall her, as a pale, fragile wonder, with wide Eastern eyes, a gracious manner, and a distracting smile. Her thinness, which became her, was made doubly evident by the long lines of a loose, clinging gauzy tea-gown. Just then her name was being coupled rather pointedly with that of Richepin, who had run off from his good wife and disappeared in the remote Sahara. The notoriety attaching to the adventure had not harmed the tragédienne. She courted gossip in those far-off days. Had she not set all Paris talking of the coffin which she used to sleep in? And had she not gone off on a balloon trip a few weeks before with a young painter?

While we were talking of those pictures and of other things, she stopped from time to time and coughed—like a consumptive. And when she raised her handkerchief to her lips, I noticed with distress that it was blood-stained. But with a laugh, she told me not to be alarmed at what was surely a disturbing symptom. "It's nothing!" she exclaimed. It did not worry her.

A few months later I was again commissioned to report Sarah's journey to the steamer *L'Amérique*, which was to bear her to New York for her first tour of the United States. The incidents which led up to that tour are now historic.

Sarah had quarreled with the director of the Français, M. Émile Perrin, who had insisted on her appearing as *Clorinde* in Augier's "L'Aventurière." The audacious star had asked him for another part, that of the heroine of a de Musset comedy. As M. Perrin had refused to yield to her, she simply left her theater and, in a hot mood, signed an American engagement. Her rupture with the Français caused an uproar on the Paris boulevards; and there were many who foretold for her the failure which had shocked Rachel when she went gadding. But nothing could turn Sarah from her purpose. She had cast the die which was to make or break her. In vain M. Perrin pleaded, and then threatened his unheeding

star. She knew that she would have to pay an enormous fine for breach of contract. But she held firm. She mocked at prayers and laughed aloud at law. One Autumn afternoon she took a train for Havre, and next morning she was steaming for New York.

Her departure from the grim Gare St. Lazare might have been that of an imperial princess. Her friends had gathered at the station to acclaim her and heap flowers on their favorite. I saw her kissed and kissed before the train puffed off, and she was lifted by the crowd into her coupé with her son Maurice and a cousin, and her then all-devoted suitor, the young painter Clairin.

That evening I was one of a small party asked to dine with her—in her red villa on the heights of St. Adresse. She wore an unassuming, plain brown frock, with a fragrant bunch of wallflowers at her side. About her throat was a warm amber *peluche* scarf, the final touch in an agreeable harmony. The dinner was served upside down. The soup came in the middle. The lobster and the roast and other trifles were brought on haphazard. But no one cared a straw what happened. Our eyes and ears that night were all for Sarah, and Sarah was the very soul of brightness. She sang to us—and sang delightfully. Her tones, tho small, were exquisitely modulated. She told us anecdotes—

And thereby hangs a tale. She told us of a joke the Prince of Wales had played on her in London. The actress had arranged to give a reading for an English Duchess. And when the Prince dropped in to see her in her dressingroom that night, she asked him to suggest to her some civil phrase to address to the great lady. His Royal Highness gravely whispered a few words to her. "Say that; just that," said he. "You'll be all right." And when the Duchess welcomed the tragédienne, she was startled by a weird flood of profanity.

The strongest factor in the life of Sarah Bernhardt was her beloved son. Mme. Sarah, as I need not say, despised, or, if you will, ignored what most of us respect as the proprieties, the conventions, of society. Her Maurice was not born to her in wedlock, but this did not prevent her from presenting him, on her first trip to London, to those who were then paying her great honor. Whatever we may think of her bold theories, there was at least some cause to like her for her courage. She did not beat about the bush or hide her frailties. When I first met the then young Maurice at her table, he was a handsome lad, still in his teens, with bright eyes, clear-cut features, and a princely air. He is now over middle age and not so handsome. But till she passed away his mother loved him madly. He was her joy, her constant

thought, her fixed idea. For him she flung away more than one fortune. For him she would have suffered death and torture. "If I should lose him," she once said to me, "I'd kill myself." Her Maurice was to her an earthly god.

When Maurice married I can still recall the radiant look of happiness which made his mother seem no older than the bride. The bride, indeed, tho an attractive woman, was far less charming than the wondrous Sarah. So it was not young Mme. Maurice —it was Sarah—who won most admiration at that wedding.

Advancing age had never caused distress to the heroic actress. She simply gloried in her achievement of grandmotherhood. Next to her son, she set her various grandchildren. And, next to them, her cousins, nieces, and her aunts, who all relied on her for help of many kinds. Not one of them—except her sister Jeanne, an erratic woman, like herself an actress—showed even feeble signs of her great gifts. Jeanne, after causing her much trouble by her escapades, sank out of sight. She was with her on her first tour in this country.

Mme. Sarah had made millions upon millions. Yet she was always loaded down with heavy debts. Much that she earned went to her grasping relatives, for she was faithful to her many family ties, and rarely

counted what they cost her to support them. Indeed, for money in itself she cared but little. It was a mere means to the ends she had in view. She was the soul of reckless, tireless hospitality, and, as was natural, she had hosts of parasites. Cares fell from her like water from a duck.

She was a painter, a sculptor, and a playwright. She had written pamphlets and reviewed the Salon. She rose to no great heights in any field, of course, except her own—the stage. Stevens, the Belgian, helped her with her painting. And so, no doubt, did Bastien-Lepage, of whom, when she was on the forty line, she saw a great deal. From various artists she got her hints as to her sculpture. She worked in her studio, not in the Avenue de Villiers, but in the house which was for many years her Paris home in the Boulevard Péreire—a few doors west of the broad, silent Place Wagram. It was not quite the sort of home one might have chosen for her. A narrow building, of the usual stone, four stories high; a plain, cold, rather stiff but solid house, with an inhospitable porte-cochère and narrow passage; an uninviting door, at which one rang; a gloomy hall, by which one reached a square salon, richly furnished, when I knew it, with rich red-velvet chairs and sofas. Beyond the salon, at the back, was Sarah's studio, in which the stranger was surprized, and sometimes startled,

to find a cage, of which the inmates were two lion cubs. When it so pleased her, Sarah had a playful way of letting her pets prowl about the place. They were not big enough, maybe, to do much harm. But —well, they rather chilled you till you got used to them.

All the celebrities of Paris knew this home of the great actress. There one met actors, artists, statesmen, authors, critics. There many a playwright came to read the work which he aspired to see her act in. And there, for thirty or more years, she lived and toiled, the center of an obsequious court of friends. Rostand and Richepin, Zamacoïs and Mendès, Moreau and Armand Silvestre, and scores of others, passed in and out and kissed her dainty hands. I doubt if Sardou often called on Sarah. He had notions of his own as to the place an actress filled in the vast cosmos. His country house was twenty miles away— a low stone château on the Marly hills. And if she had occasion to confer with him, even Sarah often had to go to Marly. Few men but Sardou, I suppose would have insisted on such deference. Yet, if he wished, she would do as he asked. That was her tribute to the famous writer who had helped her to her unparalleled popularity.

She had a shrewd idea, tho, as to Sardou's value in the world of drama. Once I remember, at an

informal dinner in her dressing-room in a New York theater, she spoke quite savagely of Sardou to her guests. She said very bitter things about "La Tosca" and the real reasons which had led the shrewd inventor of that lurid work to shape his play, not in three acts, as a more conscientious author would have done, but in five acts.

"In Paris, *voyez-vous*," said Mme. Sarah, "they pay one more for five-act than for three-act plays."

Yes, it was just a matter of plain business. What Sardou wanted was fifteen per cent. For that he had dragged in two needless acts. And that, she thought, was simply "infamous."

Once when a girl reporter called to interview her, I acted for her as interpreter. That day poor Mme. Sarah had been bored to death by visitors. They had plagued her with all sorts of idle questions, about her habits and her dogs and other things.

"One would imagine that I had no soul," said Sarah. "Why won't they talk to me about my art?"

But she seemed interested in that girl reporter, and in the point on which she begged to be enlightened.

"Suppose," she had been asked, "you had a daughter who was going on the stage. What would you tell her she would need to win success?" Mme. Sarah did not answer this offhand. She evidently

wished to help her visitor. So, after thinking for a moment, she replied,

"First, a beautiful voice. And next—proportion."

She meant, no doubt, a feeling for proportion; the ability to fit into a scheme, intelligence enough to fill one's proper place, good sense enough not to distort or overemphasize the importance of one's character in drama.

Commingled with her high and serious qualities were others light and playful, almost trivial. I have known Mme. Sarah to amuse herself for hours in private cars on trains with—a big Teddy-bear. She would toy with it and wave it from the window at way stations, and she would laugh at the amazement of the people on the rural platforms. She seldom put on airs when she was safe among her friends, her intimates. She had a winning, pretty, girlish turn for humor. Coquettish in some moods, but not too eager to be flattered or admired. What could one flatter more or less mean to a woman who had been mobbed by enthusiasts?

Heaven rest her, she had faults as well as virtues. A readiness to scratch if she was scratched; a little tendency at times to what in lesser women might have been called spitefulness. She could toss off cruel phrases which seemed eulogies. For instance, when "defending" Duse's acting of *Marguerite Gauthier*

one afternoon, I heard her tell a group of friends, with a fine air of far from candid indignation, "You are too hard on her. She has no end of talent. Of course, tho, she is—well, the least bit *bourgeoise.*" And it was true enough of Duse in that particular character. It might, however, have been gracious of the great Frenchwoman, who towered above *la Duse* in most ways, to supplement the sneer her words implied by some acknowledgment of the triumphant charm of Duse in some other rôles. The Italian had an introspective quality, a gift of fine, instinctive self-analysis, which lighted up the recesses of her soul and made it glow and thrill. But she lacked Bernhardt's wings. Her feet were always firmly on the earth. She could not soar to the poetic heights, as Sarah could in her most splendid moments.

But to compare two women of such different natures is as ridiculous as to compare gray tints or green or blue with crimson. Duse, in all her characters, is Duse: a complex, many-sided, delicate being. Sometimes she shows us one side of herself. Sometimes her vibrant art lights up another. But Bernhardt could forget that she was Bernhardt. She could project herself into a hundred heroines. She did not greatly change her face, her form, yet she could merge herself in *Phèdre* or *Doña Sol* and seem the incarnation of each character. She could indulge in

grand, imaginative flights, forbidden by *la* Duse's limitations. In certain parts, ill suited to her nature, she was undoubtedly inferior to the Italian. *La* Duse, at her best, was a rare realist; and Sarah, on the boards, was idealistic.

La Duse, with her fiery, brooding soul, lived in a world apart. She dreamed her dreams, not maybe quite alone, but in a secret garden. She could not bring herself to mix with folk less wonderful than her d'Annunzio (who was one day to make a play out of her passion). But Sarah loved companionship and people. She was not always posing on her tragic heights. At night, when she had done for a few hours with play-acting, she liked to enjoy herself. She would become, for a brief spell, just a mere woman. From twelve till half past one or two A. M. she loved to chat and laugh and sup with her real friends. To them she ceased to be a queen of art and blossomed out as a delightful hostess.

And what a hostess she could be at times!—vivacious, witty, merry, unconstrained. I was privileged on many nights to sup with her, in Paris, London, Rome, and in New York. She would always have the center of the stage, of course. But she presided at her board with charming grace. She listened—and she really liked to listen—to any one who said things worth the saying. She was not, as

some fancied her, an egotist. Her interests were of the most varied kind. Art, science, books, the latest phase of feminism, religion, sociology, and politics were all fish for her net. And, what was more, she could talk easily on most themes; not as a *bas-bleu*, with affected learning, but modestly and sensibly. She had no airs, nor did she pose and strain. She simply talked, discussed, and argued, like a woman with an unusual zest for life and all things human.

On some occasions she went back to "shop." And when she did she spoke as an authority. But she did not lay down the law, like some we know. She understood the rights of other people to their own ideas. I had the pleasure once, after a luncheon in New York, of hearing a long wrangle between Sarah and her colleague, Constant Coquelin. The issue was the vexed one raised by Diderot in his "Paradoxe du Comédien." The two stars disagreed *in toto*. Coquelin maintained that actors should not let emotion sway them when they were acting. He held that acting should be always purely cerebral. To him his characters at all times were illusions. To "live" as *Cæsar* or as *Phèdre* on the boards was to risk spoiling one's effect upon the audience. Sarah seemed just as certain of the contrary. She *had* to feel to make her audience feel with her. When she put on the character of *Phèdre*, she shared the rapture,

passion, grief, and pain of *Phèdre*. Both actors, I am certain, were sincere. Both managed to impress one by their acting. But, in the wings, while Coquelin was unmoved, Sarah was often thrilled by mock experiences. I have seen tears roll down her cheeks after some scenes. I never saw a trace of tears on Coquelin's.

Had Sarah not been a past mistress of technique, she might have failed by being too emotional. But, at the base of all her acting, besides sympathy, there was technique—the art she owed to the Conservatoire. She could control herself in her most tigerish moments. She was too clever to let feeling mar her acting. Her acting may have seemed to some unbridled, yet it was kept within due bounds by art and skill. No matter how much passion she displayed, this marvelous woman never lost sight of her grip upon the theory of her art.

She won her triumphs, thanks to will and tireless work, and thanks to something else—imagination. The last was what assured her the great place she filled for over half a century. It was the gift of God or Nature or that godmother; an asset that she could never have acquired. Imagination, helped by work and will, distinguished her from her most famous rivals. Her art she had studied, mastered, and adorned, but her imaginative power was given

to her. Without it she might not have been a great actress. She would not have outshone all other actresses.

She realized this fact. Why should she not? And yet, in private, she had tact enough not to obtrude her knowledge of the fact too obviously. She could be deferential when she chose to be so. Much smaller women have not been so wise. She could be harsh, tho—even savage—now and then. For instance, when her companion, Mlle. Seylor, who had shared her life for years and years, refused to brave the "subs" with her on her last voyage to New York, she was so angered that she sent her old friend packing and told her she would have no more to do with her.

She had strong likings, dark forebodings and dislikings. She was as sensitive as a cat when she was forced to come in contact with some people. A well-known doctor who admired her, made her shudder. "He'll poison me some day; I know he will!" She once exclaimed when he sent in his card. And there were others whom she seemed to like intuitively—almost, indeed, instinctively—as animals like men or fellow animals. To certain of her friends and her dependents she clung all her life—to Mme. Guérard (tho her slackness often vexed her) and to some servants. After an interval of thirty years or more, she would sit down to lunch or dinner with

the same comrades she had known and loved in youth. They had grown white or gray, but Sarah seemed unchanged by all those years.

It was amusing to observe how unconcealed was her enjoyment of good food. She did not eat much and she drank only enough to aid digestion. Her taste was simple. She could feast on a plain herring. But if she had a fancy for some dish, she made no effort to disguise the joy it gave her. I wish many could have seen her, as I did one night prepare a meal for a few guests with a big chafing-dish. Her handling of the eggs and mushrooms was so dramatic that it was almost like the third act of a drama. Between those mushrooms and those eggs she talked incessantly. The way she flung them in the pan was wholly tragic. But the result was a delightful omelet, in which no critic could have found the slightest flaw.

She allowed no pleasure to disturb her in her work. The love of work to her was almost a religion. When she had entertained a group of us at déjeuner, she would glance quickly at the clock, throw down her serviette, dip her fingers in her bowl, and leave the table, with a cry of *"Au travail!"* Not once in all the many years I knew her till that sad trouble with her leg, was she faithless in her duty to the public. She seldom in her life missed a rehearsal or an engagement.

No matter what the cost, she would go on some nights when she was spitting blood and having fainting spells. "*Quand Même,*" her motto, was her guide, her gospel. "In spite of everything," she had to act.

I have sometimes wondered if the public knew how direly Sarah suffered on some tours to serve it. For years, before she had that leg cut off, she had had anguish from a tortured knee-cap. And on the last of her repeated visits here, when she had lost the power to walk, did many guess that her poor shortened stump had never healed since that dread amputation?

Her sense of humor, tho, sustained her somewhat. She smiled and smiled and smiled despite her pain—the triumph of a great mind over matter—the power of will defying brutal facts. One evening, halting for an hour in Albany, at the suggestion of her manager, I sent my card to Mme. Sarah in her car. It had been shunted till next morning to a siding.

To my dismay, I heard a shriek of rage as her colored servant took my message in to her.

I walked away, but called again soon after, when Sarah, with a laugh, explained her fury.

"They brought your card in at an awkward moment," said Sarah, as she gave me a most gracious greeting. "Just then, you see, I was trying on—my new cork leg!"

And think of all she did, with one leg missing. Not in the glory of her youth, as I can swear, did she perform the last act of "La Dame aux Camélias" more touchingly, more delicately, with more finished art, than on her final tour in the United States.

Mme. Sarah's energy was inconceivable. Her curiosity was boundless and insatiable. When I was traveling in this country on her train, at every station where it stopped for even half an hour, she would alight and call a hack or motor-car, and drive about till it was time to get into her private car again. She seemed to notice every sign of change in every town which she had ever visited. And tho she never learned to speak more than a few disjected phrases in our tongue, she somehow found out nearly all she wished to know.

When she was over sixty-four, at her own theater in the Place du Châtelet, within twelve hours she carried out this program: From 2 to 5 P. M. she appeared as *Phèdre*. From 5 to 6 she had a host of visitors. She changed her dress and rested for an hour. At 7 she gave a dinner to ten friends. At 8 she left the table, and went on again as the young hero (not the heroine) of a new three-act comedy. She changed into a dainty evening-gown and sat through a short two-act afterpiece. She drove to her abode, three miles away, and entertained more

friends at supper. She would keep up this life for months and months on end.

On the occasion that I have in mind just now, among the guests with whom I dined (behind the scenes of the Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt) were Georges Clairin, Gaston de Bérardi (long director of the *Indépendance Belge*), and Edmond Rostand. The author of "Les Romanesques" and "Cyrano" was a pale, bloodless man, with well-cut features, a mustache, and little hair above his lofty forehead. He seldom spoke, and invented not one epigram that evening. He impressed one by his fine romantic air and his distinction. Rostand, you know, had once saved Sarah's life, when she was sinking in the waves close to Belle-Isle.

I somehow think this fact affected Sarah's judgment of the author. She used to rave of him in the same breath with Shakespeare. While we were dallying with the roast that evening, a maid brought in a telegram. Mme. Sarah opened it and passed it round the table.

"From Queen Alexandra," said our hostess. "To thank me for condoling with her yesterday on King Edward's death."

It was curiosity, not passion, that induced her to try marriage for a change. Her husband, the Greek actor Damala, soon cured her of her matrimonial

fantasy. He had accumulated debts on debts. He was unfaithful and he was ungrateful. And then his health broke down. Tho he had long since left her for another actress, his wife nursed him when the doctors gave him up. I hardly think she mourned him very deeply, tho, when she was widowed.

To Sarah youth appealed much more than age. Not her own youth, which she retained as by a miracle till she was almost seventy, but that of others, girls and boys, and chiefly students. In Rome one day she went into hysterics as I sat with her, because her manager would not allow the Roman students free admission to a performance she was giving there that evening. To please young people she would have done anything. She loved to help and cheer and inspire them in their struggles.

She was always grateful to Americans and English folk for the encouragement they gave her so unstintedly. Tho she was always facing crowds, she hated contact with what Frenchmen call "the people." She was exclusive, almost morbidly exclusive. Rather than mix with strangers in a public car, she would drive miles and miles in her auto or her carriage.

To those who had had the privilege of seeing her in the heyday of her fame, Sarah stood apart from her most brilliant rivals. She towered above all

other living actresses. To those who knew her only in her later years, her golden voice may have seemed less than golden, her magic art not free from artifice. She had lived too long to suit a modern crowd.

Toward the close of her career Sarah lost a good deal of her earlier charm. Her golden voice was sometimes slightly worn, her art at moments rather strained and forced. The tigerish accents which had thrilled us once were harsher. The tender lovetones had a feebler ring. And she had not quite her old self-control, her wondrous poise, her philosophic outlook upon things and men. But she had still her dogged will, her eager interest in the world, her love of art.

No woman, be assured, will take her place. There never can be such another miracle. Artists as great as she was may come after her, but in the story of the stage she reigned apart. Her charm was rare indeed —her art supreme; her influence on the drama unsurpassed. Age could not wither her, nor custom stale her unconquered spirit. No one could ever hope to vie with her. She was too personal to be taken as a model. But her example has fired many actresses to whom she seemed rightly, as she long seemed to me, a queen of art.

Above all, she was a tremendous force; a vital factor in the world of art.

AUTHORITIES

This close up view of a great personality is by a distinguished dramatist and critic an intimate friend of the "Divine Sarah," contributed to the Pictorial Review for June 1923, and here republished by permission of author and publisher.

LUTHER BURBANK

1849–

WIZARDRY IN PLANT BREEDING

LUTHER BURBANK

WIZARDRY IN PLANT BREEDING

By GEORGE WHARTON JAMES

THE year 1849 was a memorable year in California history. It was the year of the great influx of the gold pioneers from all parts of the world, and it was also the year of the birth of Luther Burbank.

He first saw light in Lancaster, Worcester County, Massachusetts, March 7, in that memorable year. He was the thirteenth (lucky number) of fifteen children, born to Samuel Walton Burbank by three marriages. He came to California in 1875,—deliberately chose it as his future home, and ever since then has been in every sense of the word a true and devoted Californian.

In his earliest years Luther Burbank was a quiet, shy lad, making playmates of plants rather than of other children. His doll—strange prophecy—was a cactus plant, fondly carried about until an accident shattered the plant and a young heart at one operation.

As a boy he was put to work in the shops of the Ames Plow Company. Though he longed for the open air,

and the companionship of the trees, the plants, the flowers, the clouds, the sky and the free open, such was his conception of duty that he suppressed all his longings and doubly concentrated his mind with deliberate purpose upon the work he was set to do.

When the time came, however, Burbank gladly left the shops for the fields, discovered his vocation and the Burbank potato, and soon thereafter circumstances, not gold, forced him to California.

He reached Santa Rosa in 1875. Then misfortune came to him in the shape of illness, which quickly robbed him of his small hoard of dollars. He was glad to take refuge in an empty chicken-house, and accept whatever odd jobs he could get. One day, as I drove with him from Santa Rosa to his proving grounds at Sevastopol, we passed a buggy driven by a man who responded very elaborately to Mr. Burbank's friendly nod and simple salutation. After we had passed, with a whimsical smile upon his face, he turned to me and said: "I never see that man but I am reminded of an incident of those days of my poverty and distress, when I was glad to do anything that came to hand. One day I heard that that man was building a house. I went to him and asked him for the job of shingling it. He asked me what I would do it for. The regular price was two dollars and a half a thousand, but I was so anxious for the work that I offered to do it for one

dollar and seventy-five cents. 'All right,' he said, 'come and begin to-morrow.' But I had no shingling hammer and all the cash I had in the world was seventy-five cents, which I at once expended in purchasing the necessary hammer. Next morning when I reached the job, my new hammer in hand all ready to go to work, I was surprised and—what shall I say—dismayed, to find another man already at work, while the owner calmly came to me and said: 'I guess you'll have to let that job go, as this man here has undertaken to do it for one dollar a thousand.'

"How disappointed I was! I had spent my last cent, had a hammer that was no use to me now, and no job. But I kept a stiff upper lip and work soon came, and I've never been quite so hard up since."

Harwood, in speaking of this period of Burbank's life, graphically says: "The man who was to become the foremost figure in the world in his line of work, and who was to pave the way by his own discoveries and creations for others of all lands to follow in his footsteps, was a stranger in a strange land, close to starvation, penniless, beset by disease, hard by the gates of death. And yet never for an instant did this heroic figure lose hope, never did he abandon confidence in himself, nor once did he swerve from the path he had marked out. In the midst of all he kept an unshaken faith. He accepted the trials that came,

not as a matter of course, not tamely, nor with any mock heroics, but as a passing necessity. His resolution was of iron, his will of steel, his heart of gold; he was fighting in the splendid armor of a clean life."

Slowly he regained his health, doing odd jobs as he was able, and at last had money enough to secure a small plot of ground, begin a nursery, and at the same time, carry out the plan formed years ago,—become an improver and creator.

Yet, in all his experimenting he was innately modest. There was no blare of trumpets. Note this well, young men and women. He went his own way; followed the vision that he alone saw; but he did it reverently, respectfully, modestly. There were no loud declarations as to the ignorance of the horticulturalists of the past; no open defiance of the horticulturalists of the present; but simply a quiet, calm, silent, modest sailing of his own ship over the unknown sea. Too often the young want to do as Burbank did, but they spoil their lives by the blatancy of their methods, the immodesty of their self-conceit, and the rudeness of their criticisms of those whose lives have demonstrated that they were real benefactors to the race.

Note well, then, his modesty when he began his work, and also when, success attained, that work brought him world-wide fame, honor, wealth, and the plaudits of the great minds of earth. When I first

visited him in his home, this was the earliest impression I received. As I then wrote:

"Though honored by kings and princes, by scientists and leaders of men the world over, he is the simplest kind of man at home. There is none of the haughtiness, or pride, or self-conceit that would have taken possession of a smaller man, and that would have shown itself in his daily intercourse with his subordinates. While they all revere and respect him, honor and obey him, they all feel his simplicity of character, the pure democratic soul within him, and one and all speak to him, and of him, in the everyday name of 'Boss.' But it is when you hear the sweet intonation of the voices of the maids in the house and the men in the fields as they thus speak, that you feel and comprehend the friendliness of the man.

"His neighbors in Santa Rosa (where he lives) and Sevastopol (where his testing grounds are), and on the seven-mile drive thither, have the same warm, kindly, democratic feeling towards him, and he responds as cheerily to the salutation of the wood-hauler and the potato-digger as he does to that of the banker or railway magnate, and we met all kinds as we drove from Santa Rosa to Sevastopol and back."

Here is an unspoiled king, the true democrat, the man who actually lives his belief in the brotherhood of man. Here is no false dignity, no pomp, no cere-

mony. His dignity is in his life. He commands respect by his inherent power, and needs none of the haughtiness of the factitious dignity that is not sure of its position. His humble attitude is the sign of his soul's self-conscious supremacy,—a supremacy which sees the dignity of every other soul.

Early in his nursery career in California, he displayed that daring of mind, and audacity of execution that are inseparably connected with the independent thinker.

But let our hero tell his own story:

On the seventh day of March, 1923, I was 74 years of age. On that day, I celebrated the conclusion of half a century of ceaseless experimentation with plant life.

In those 50 years, millions of plants—grasses, flowers, vegetables, grains, and trees—have passed through my hands, and from them I have selected a few, seemingly a very, very few, for preservation, reproduction, improvement, development, to such a point that they may render the utmost service of food, beauty, and enjoyment to man.

To me, they have become like a vast army of individuals, marching onward, guided by selection, toward a goal of improvement. From my first creation —a potato that is now grown by the millions of bushels all over the habitable globe—to the latest of more

than a dozen varieties of new and commercially valuable fruits—of which more than 100 carloads were shipped last year from California alone—there has been growing steadily within my experience the belief that *in the development of the plant lies a great, if not the greatest, object lesson for human beings.*

That belief has grown in 50 years to a fact. It has been proved time on time, and I have crystallized it into two statements, one the corollary of the other:

First, that plants are pliable and under the control of man; and that they can be bred and trained and developed, just as animals can be bred and improved and trained.

Second, that the human plant—the child—can be trained, developed, and improved, just as the skilled gardener, or the trained botanist, trains, develops, and improves the best that is in each one of his plants.

During the course of many years of investigation into the plant life of the world, creating new forms, modifying old ones, adapting others to new connections, and blending still others, I have been impressed constantly with the similarity between the organization and development of plant and human life. While I have never lost sight of the principle of the survival of the fittest, as an explanation of the development and progress of plant life, I have come to find in the crossing of species and in selection,

wisely directed, a great and powerful instrument for the transformation of the vegetable kingdom along lines that lead constantly upward.

The crossing of species to me is paramount. Upon it, wisely directed, and accompanied by *rigid selection of the best, and as rigid an exclusion of the poorest, rests the hope of all progress.*

In my work with plants and flowers, I introduce color here, shape there, size or perfume, according to the product desired. In such processes the teachings of Nature are followed; its great forces only are employed. All that has been done for plants and flowers by natural crossing, Nature already has accomplished for the American people. By the crossing of types, in one instance, strength has been secured; in another, intellectuality; in still another, moral force. Nature alone has done this. But the work of man's head and hands has not yet been summoned to prescribe for the development of a race. So far, a preconceived and mapped-out crossing of bloods finds no place in the making of peoples and nations. But, when Nature has already done its duty, and the crossing leaves a product that in the rough displays the best human attributes, all that is left to be done falls to selective environment.

In my life work, when two different plants have been crossed, that is only the beginning. It is only one step,

however important; the great work lies beyond—in the care, the nurture, the influence of surroundings, selection, the separation of the best from the poorest: all of which are embraced in the words I have applied —selective environment.

Just as all plant life is sensitive to environment, so is all animal life. And of all living things the child is the most sensitive. Surroundings act upon the child as the outside world acts upon the plate in the camera. A child is the most susceptible thing in the world to influence, and, if that force be applied rightly and constantly when the child is in its most receptive condition, the effect will be pronounced, immediate, and permanent.

We should begin with the child where I begin with the plant, at the very beginning. It has been said that "the way to reform a man is to begin with his grandfather;" but this is only a half truth, for, while it is true that we should "begin with his grandfather," we should begin with that grandfather when he himself is a child.

The secret of the successful results of my work with plants has been partly in my love for plants. If you are cultivating a plant, developing it into something finer and nobler, you must love it, not hate it; be gentle with it, not abusive; be firm, never harsh. I give the plants upon which I am at work the best

possible environment. So it should be with the child, if you wish to develop it along right ways. Let it have music, pictures, laughter, and a good time; not an idle time, but one full of cheerful occupations. Plants should be given sun and air, blue sky, and proper nourishment. Give them to your boys and girls.

Choose what improvement you wish in a flower, a fruit, or a tree, and by crossing, selection, cultivation, and persistence, you can fix this desirable trait irrevocably. Pick out any trait you want in your normal child, be it honesty, fairness, purity, lovableness, industry, thrift, what not. By surrounding this child with sunshine from the sky and from your own heart, by giving him the closest communion with nature, by feeding him well balanced, nutritious food, by giving all that is implied in "healthful environment influences," you can thus cultivate in the child all of these traits, and fix them for all his life.

These are the most important discoveries, certainly the most valuable, that I have made in my half century of selecting, training, developing, and improving the members of the vegetable kingdom. In that time, I have passed through a million interesting experiences, not of the least of which has been to watch the development, through years of experimentation, of productive, useful plants from forms that before had been comparatively worthless. I have looked down upon a

miniature forest of 240,000 plum seedlings, of as many distinct varieties, from which I was to make a selection, right here in my own grounds, of ONE TREE, which, in turn, was to produce a plum that ripened rapidly, packed well, shipped well, and sold well in the market.

I have had the pleasure of developing a chestnut—a tree that normally requires from 15 to 20 years to come into a full bearing—into a tree that bears nuts at six months from the planting of the seed nut, and is in full bearing at two years.

From the small, hard, bitter quince I have developed, by selection and crossing, a fruit larger than the largest apple, juicy and sweet when eaten raw, and as fine in flavor as the most delicious apple when baked. There is nothing in that quince except the best qualities of the original quince, but it has been given encouragement and opportunity to develop to its utmost, and it has responded, just as any other plant, animal or child will respond and develop if so cared for.

I have taken the slow growing, small, hard-shelled wild black walnut and, by crossing it with the soft-wooded, soft-shelled, edible walnut, produced a tree with a finer, harder wood than the black walnut, yet which grows many times as rapidly as the latter and produces better and more nuts.

From the crossing, selection, and development of young trees of the common prune within the past 40

years, I have developed a larger, sweeter, earlier fruit, which dries better, ships better, keeps better, and sells better. I recall one time, back in 1881, when Warren Dutton, a friend of mine, came to me in March for 20,000 prune trees, to be ready for setting out *that same year*. This meant the planting, and growing to a height of from two to five feet, of 20,000 prune trees within nine months. I took the contract, and this is what was done:

Twenty-five thousand almonds were spread over a bed of well-drained creek sand, and covered with a thickness of burlap, over which was laid an inch of sand, kept moist. The almond seeds had the proper environment and the best of care. In two weeks they were sprouting. One by one, as they sprouted, they were set out in rows, four inches apart.

In June, when they were a foot or more high—still being *almonds*, mind you, while I wanted *prunes*—I obtained from a neighboring prune orchard, 25,000 prune buds, employed a budding crew of 16 men, and inserted the prune buds in the almond seedlings. Prune shoots appeared from the buds, the tops of the almond trees were cut away, and I had, not quite 20,000, but about 19,800 young prune trees, ready for delivery, and ready on time. They made an orchard of more than 200 acres, and, though that bit of work

was done nearly 42 years ago, all of them are still growing and bearing abundantly.

It is all so simple; life in every form is so clear; it is all a process of evolution. And man, by perseverance, patience, watchfulness, study, care and love, may aid immeasurably in the processes of that evolution. He may accomplish in ten years what Nature takes ten centuries to do.

For more than half a century I have had one definite object—the improvement of the vegetable kingdom for the benefit of man. Deciding first, exactly what I wish to create, I begin by selecting the strongest, best developed plants of that variety available. They come to seed, the best seed from them is planted again, and again developed for further selection and planting; cross fertilization by pollen is carried on, and so the work continues until the ultimate product of that particular parent stock is reached. There is nothing supernatural, nothing mysterious about it. It is a work into which I gladly, joyously put my heart and mind and hands.

Just now, I am trying to produce better grains, nuts, fruits, and vegetables, as well as larger, more beautiful, and more fragrant flowers, striving not only for new forms, colors, and sizes, but for those products of the vegetable kingdom that will provide more food and less waste.

On my experimental farms, more than 2500 experiments are being conducted. I shall have ready, this spring, a variety of new grains, seed-bearing grasses, suitable for both forage plants and for grain crops, and others for cereals; new walnuts, huge, rapid-growing hardwood trees, which will produce more valuable lumber in 10 years than the now well-known varieties will in fifty or one hundred years; a drought-resisting lippia for lawns in dry regions; a new asparagus, which is to the ordinary variety as the Burbank potato was to its predecessors; an artichoke, the blossom of which is four feet or more in circumference; and a number of new climbing vines and flowers.

Among the new blossom-bearing plants I shall offer soon, are immense larkspurs, both annual and perennial; new zinnias, larger and brighter than any before known; new petunias and a verbena with much larger flowers and a pleasing odor. There are to follow, within a year or so, still more interesting and valuable productions from the work of selection, development and improvement that I have been doing in the plant world for the last half century.

All life always has been and, always will be based upon sugar obtained by means of sunlight. Great migrations have taken place because of decreased ability to produce sugar from sunlight in certain areas. because population follows sugar, fleeing when the

means of obtaining it fails and moving to new places where plants produce sugar and the products derived from it more abundantly. The time is at hand when men shall make sugar as the plants make it and the deserts will sooner or later take first place among food-producing areas because of the extraordinary amount of brilliant sunlight that falls upon them.

When we make sugar directly from sunlight, the deserts will be the best place in which to make it. Then will follow a series of great migrations, with people flocking to the new sources of sugar supplies. A third and most important thing that I foresee is a great increase in the earth's population, since there is a definite relationship between food supply and the birth rate.

Let us become able to produce sugar as the plants do, do it at low cost, and the cost of food will be so cheapened, by reason of its abundance, that population, the world over, will rise to meet the level of the food supply.

There are now a billion and a half of us; that is supposed to be about the world's population. The synthetic manufacture of sugar and its products may increase this to two billions, or even more.

The discovery of a cheap method of making sugar synthetically from sunlight will enormously increase the world's store of material things. It is not the

sugar alone that we shall have, but everything that can be made from sugar.

We should be startled to-day if we could behold the results that will quickly follow the synthetic production of sugar on a commercial basis. Invention will follow invention rapidly as they always follow fundamental discoveries and inventions. We shall convert sugar into starch, rubber, resins, the various gums and a thousand other things. Scientists already know how to perform most of these processes and are waiting only for cheap synthetic sugar to become a reality.

It has long been possible to change cellulose or woody fiber to sugar and it is a common remark among scientists that considerably more than a pound of fine sugar can be produced from a pound of linen.

All of the substances that are now made from coal-tar could be made from sugar.

But sugar is the basic thing—the basis even of the wonderful, almost protoplasmic substance called coal-tar.

That is why the synthetic production of sugar on a commercial scale will constitute perhaps the most revolutionary discovery in the history of the world.

No man can now do more than trace dimly a few of the innumerable ramifications that this discovery will undoubtedly develop.

AUTHORITIES

Mr. James wrote his sketch for a volume entitled "Heroes of California" published by Little Brown & Company, Boston, Copyright 1910; Mr. Burbank's own story was contributed to Popular Science Monthly, April 1923, both reprinted here by permission. For more extended biographies readers are invited to consult Harwood, De Vries, David Starr Jordan, Professor Wickson as well as the Carnegie Institution.

HEROIC WOMEN

HEROIC WOMEN

By WILLIAM E. BARTON

THE most interesting and important fact concerning human society is its division into two sexes. The division is provided for most mysteriously. Whatever the future shall disclose of methods of sex determination, thus far the causes of the division have been outside the sphere of conscious human control, and the results have been relatively stable. In all nations a few more boys than girls are born; in all forms of society, both savage and civilized, the mortality is somewhat greater among boys and men than among girls and women. The fatalities of war accentuate but little the added perils to male over female populations. In all countries long settled, where there is no wilful destruction of infant female life, there is a slight and in some communities a considerable excess of women above men. In Roman Catholic Countries, the sisterhoods of the Church provide avenues of usefulness for some of these. America has found here material for a great army of school teachers, nurses, stenographers and others, who, some

of them taking up their vocations as life professions, and others entering upon their work for an interval between school life and matrimony, have attained a position well recognized and no longer disputed. Increasingly the professions have opened their doors to women, and there are few forms of industry in which women are not now engaged, working, in very large measure, side by side with men. Among them are women whom the Creator appears to have loved too well to permit any one man to claim them; and others who cherish expectations of presiding over homes; and others, who, driven by stress of circumstances, carry simultaneously the double burdens of bread-winning and home making. Women have entered business and professional life, and apparently are there to stay. Few grudge them the place which they have won, or seek to place artificial restraints upon their progress. The ballot, also, is theirs, and a place in the jury-box, and an opportunity to run for office.

The division between the sexes, however, is a permanent fact. No legislative enactment or change in social custom can obliterate it, or greatly modify the reciprocal relations of the sexes. Reforms against nature never go very far. There is no way by which the womanhood of the world can assume the functions of the next generation's paternity; nor any by which

the manhood of the human race can achieve maternity. The laws of intelligent and progressive nations will ever need to afford especial protection to woomanhood, and to lighten the load that rests upon women for the care of the coming generation. The new woman is not only physiologically but psychologically the daughter of the woman of yesterday. "The eternal feminine" is more than a pleasant phrase. It constitutes one of the fundamental facts of human life, or at least on one half of it.

The title "Heroic Women" is not misapplied. Womanhood has its remarkable capacity for the heroic. Men do not know how to face suffering as women do. Women meet adversity, sorrow and pain, sometimes weakly and complainingly, but in a surprising proportion of instances with an amazing fortitude. "This will kill my wife; she never can bear it" is a sentence I have heard I will not say how many times. But it has happened as often as otherwise that the sorrow or misfortune which the husband believed the wife could not bear was met by her with quite as great heroism as he himself displayed, and sometimes with an even greater fortitude. No one whose duty compels him to see much of human adversity and sorrow can doubt the capacity of womanhood for genuine heroism.

Nor were the occasions of heroism in womanhood monopolized by the Grace Darlings and Hannah

Dustins of the past on sea or land. The conditions of modern life have disclosed occasions of remarkable heroism in very ordinary women, and some who have proved themselves extraordinary.

Consider, for instance, such an event as this. The dam that holds back the spring floods in a vast reservoir weakens and gives way. A watchman near the breaking dam rings up the central telephone office a mile or two or three miles down the valley to warn the telephone girl to flee for her life. She flees, but not till she has rung every phone on her switch-board and warned every household of the approaching flood. The wall of water comes tearing down the valley, sweeping away every home and office and shop, but no human lives are lost, because one brave girl, alone in the midnight, refuses to desert her post for the sake of saving her own life until she has saved every other life in the little hamlet sleeping about her. That is the modern heroine. Perhaps she chews gum, though I hope not. Perhaps she bobs her hair and powders her nose; perhaps she seems frivolous. But she has developed in the course of her daily toil a sense of duty that does not fail under the severest test.

Could a man have done it? Quite possibly. It would be easy to match the story of the telephone girl with that of the white-faced elevator boy in the burning department store, carrying down through the

smoke and confusion load after load of terrified women, and never forgetting to say "Mind the step, please." Men can be heroes now as truly as ever; and their heroism displays itself in unexpected places and in surprising ways. Women can be heroines now, and sometimes are heroines, as truly as in the days of that sweet girl soldier, Joan of Arc.

We are in a world where neither sex can get far without the help of the other. The perpetuity and well being of the race are dependent upon normal and helpful relations between men and women. He is no friend of either sex who incites any spirit of enmity or invidious comparison. The human race goes forward or falls back together. There is no possibility of advancing manhood and degrading womanhood at the same time and by the same process, nor is it possible to harm either sex without at the same time injuring the other. Whatever is to the glory of manhood glorifies the race; and manhood is ennobled by all that exalts womanhood.

In earlier volumes of this series Dr. Lord gave large space to the influence of woman. One whole volume was devoted to a study of great women of the past, and their influence finds appreciative mention in his other volumes. Well may we devote this chapter to a rapid survey of the lives of some modern heroines,

with particular mention of one who claims some special consideration in a volume such as this.

This chapter undertakes no roll call of all the famous or heroic women of the past century; but it endeavors to bring to mind some representative names in different departments of activity and purpose.

One thinks first, of course, of those women who have definitely taken up the cause of womanhood and have given their lives to advancing it. Notable names come to mind, from Susan B. Anthony to Anna Shaw, of women who have felt their own hearts under the whole burden of womanhood, and have lived for the advancement of their sex. Susan B. Anthony was born but little more than a hundred years ago. Her birthday was February 15, 1820. She was born at Adams, Mass., and her parents were Quakers. She received her early education in a school taught by her father for his own children and those of his neighbors. She began teaching at seventeen, and continued to be a teacher until she was thirty-two. From that time until the outbreak of the Civil War she was active in temperance and anti-slavery organization, but she began in 1854 her work for woman suffrage, to which cause she devoted herself until her death March 13, 1906. She was recognized as one of the foremost of all advocates of the complete legal equality of men and women. She toiled long and arduously, but she

lived to see the beginning of the realization of what she had striven for.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, intimate associate of Susan B. Anthony, was five years the senior of that time-honored worker, having been born in 1815. She was educated at the Troy Female Seminary, where she graduated in 1832. In 1840 she was married to Henry Brewster Stanton, who had studied theology, but practiced law and edited a newspaper, and became prominent in politics, particularly against slavery. The first woman's rights convention in America was held in Seneca Falls, N. Y. where she and her husband had removed from Boston, and she was one of the three organizers of it, and for many years president of the national organization the National Woman's Suffrage Association. She died in 1890.

With these we think naturally of Lucy Stone, whose husband Henry B. Blackwell, consented that she should retain her maiden name even after her marriage, and whose daughter, Alice Stone-Blackwell carries on her work of editing the *Woman's Journal*. Lucy Stone was born in West Brookfield, Mass., August 13, 1818. She earned the money which enabled her to take a college course, and was one of the early graduates of Oberlin. She went immediately upon the platform as the advocate of abolition and of woman suffrage. She had a re-

markable voice and a pleasing manner which held in control the most belligerent audiences, and she won her way against opposition and indifference. She died in 1893.

All these and their associates wrought for the cause of womanhood, and they lived to see great progress though not the complete realization of their hopes.

But we are concerned also, and primarily, with those women who wrought at tasks such as came to them in varying fields of endeavor, and who achieved success for themselves and their sex and for through their labors humanity. We hold honor women who worked for womanhood and exalted it; but most of woman's work is work for humanity, and her sex is exalted in the blessing which she brings to mankind.

Women have produced some noted scientists. First of these, in modern America, we remember Maria Mitchell. She was born on Nantucket, August 1, 1818, in the same general period and the same State with the three eminent women whom we have named; and like Susan B. Anthony, she was born a Quakeress. Her father was a school teacher and later a bank cashier, and made meteorological observations for the United States Government. His avocation was astronomy, in which pursuit he enjoyed the companionship of his daughter. She became greatly interested in the use of her father's poorly equipped observatory,

especially in the use of his telescope. It was an instrument of small diameter, but it opened to the little girl new vistas into the siderial universe. She came to observe with special interest the nebulae, and also to search for comets.

For a time she taught school, but gave up her teaching to become librarian of Nantucket Athenaeum. She was fond of music, and so was her father. Musical instruments were not allowed in that Quaker household, but she managed to get a piano into the house and upstairs while the family were away, and it was not compelled to vacate the premises. Her favorite instrument, however, was the telescope. She was domestic, and she knit for her father warm woolen socks to keep off his rheumatism, and she assisted in the household labor.

One autumn evening in 1847—the date was October 1—there was a little party at the Mitchell home. Maria was courteous to her guests, but it was so fine a night, she could not resist the temptation to go to the roof and do a little sky-sweeping. There, upon the house-top alone, she discovered a comet. Breathless, she hurried down and brought up her father, who confirmed her observation, and said, "Maria, that is a comet, and the discovery is thine. "Some years before, King Frederick VI of Denmark had offered a gold medal to the discover of a telescopic comet.

On October 3, by the first mail leaving Nantucket, Mr. Mitchell posted a letter to Mr. Bond of the Cambridge Observatory, informing him of Maria's discovery, and giving the location of the comet. Frederick VI had died, and Frederick VII was on the throne, and before the necessary formalities had been completed several noted astronomers had found the comet; but when they knew the facts, they were just and generous enough to withdraw their claims in favor of Maria; and the royal medal which the astronomers of the world had been hoping to win, went to a girl on the little island of Nantucket. For her the luminary was named "Miss Mitchell's comet."

Thus did Maria wake up and find herself famous. She made two journeys to Europe and was entertained by the foremost scientists then living. Returning from her second journey, she found her mother's health poor, and she devoted herself to her mother, who did not live long.

After the death of her mother, Maria and her father moved to Lynn, Massachusetts, where she continued her scientific researches with her father, not neglecting to knit for him the long warm woolen socks which had proved a comfort to him.

About this time Matthew Vassar, who had repented of being a brewer, but later returned to his craft and prospered in it, determined to use his money or a

portion of it in founding a college for women. The first women's college in America began with a gift of a half million dollars, a not inconsiderable endowment for that day. Miss Mitchell became the first professor of Astronomy in that institution, and continued there for eighteen years. She died June 28, 1889, at the age of seventy-one, and is buried in her island home of Nantucket, leaving behind her a reputation as rich in its womanliness as it is strong in its contribution to human knowledge.

Women scientists have not been abundant, but a number of them have been conspicuous. Latest of those to win secure fame is Madame Curie. She was born Marie Sklodowsky, daughter of an eminent professor, who early discovered in this child of his a genius for mathematics, but who took care that she should be guarded from any suspicion of being abnormal. She once confided to her father her own happy discovery that the three greatest men in history were Gauss, Isaac Newton and her Papa. "My dear," replied her father, "you have forgotten Aristotle!" Her birthplace and early home were in Warsaw, and she was quite a young lady when she quitted that old city to enter the Sorbonne in Paris, where she entered upon the study of the physical sciences. Her presence there was attended by indifference, the professors for the most part not

taking very seriously the presence there of a young Polish woman. She was tolerated on account of the fame of her father, and she led a lonely life. She was ever unwilling to accept special consideration in her study on account of her sex, but she did not enjoy being ignored for that reason. Not every one ignored her, however. There was a fellow student, Pierre Curie, some years older than herself, who was interested in the same phenomena, and they studied together with increasing and mutual profit, and at length were married.

It was about this time that the X-rays, having been for some years in successful operation, suggested the property of radio-activity, the power of spontaneity without chemical change and without known external help of stimulus. Her labor with that of her husband led to the discovery in 1898 of radium, that miracle among the realities of chemistry.

Her husband died suddenly, being run down by a truck in the streets of Paris, and she had to support her small family by lecturing. She made the dresses of her children after she became famous; and on her visit to America she won the hearts of her hearers by her erudition and her modesty. She is said to wear aprons of unbecoming colors when she works, and to wear her hair pushed up uncompromisingly

to prevent any suspicion that she is seeking to attract attention by her beauty.

Modern womanhood has its honored place in literature. Anything like a survey of the contribution of women to the literature of the world is impossible in a sketch like this. We remember that America has had her literary women from the beginning of her history. Few people now read the labored poems of Mrs. Anne Dudley Bradstreet. She was the daughter of a governor and the wife of a governor, and this added to her prestige; but she won her own fame with her pen. Anne Dudley was four years younger than Milton, and wrote poems in America when he was writing in England. At sixteen she married Simon Bradstreet, son of a Puritan minister, and himself a Master of Arts of Cambridge in Old England. Two years after her marriage she and her family migrated to America, where both her father and husband attained to distinction. She loved her husband, and her "eight birds hatched in one nest," but she made poetic rejoinder to those who supposed that her whole duty consisted in polishing her thirteen pewter platters and her four large silver spoons:

"I am obnoxious to each carping tongue
Who says my hand a needle better fits,
A poet's pen all scorn I should thus wrong,
For such despite they cast on Female wits;

If what I do prove well, it won't advance.
They'll say it's stol'n, or else it was by chance."

Not that she pretended that women could do all things as well as men; she was too coy and too discreet to make such a claim:

"Let Greeks be Greeks, and women what they are,
Men have precedency and still excel;
It is but vain unjustly to wage war;
Men can do best and women know it well.
Preëminence in all and each is yours,
Yet grant some small acknowledgment of ours."

Could any lady fail to win favor who addressed mankind with such delicate flattery? Certainly not, if she were also as gifted as Anne Dudley Bradstreet. She won her way to fame. Extravagant praise was hers. She was called "the Tenth Muse." Rev. Nathaniel Ward, who has been called America's first democrat, and who had in general small respect for the ability of woman as author, wrote of her:

"It half revives my chill frost-bitten blood,
To see a woman once do aught that's good."

Another minister, Rev. Mr. Norton, was confident that—

"Should Virgil hear her lively strain
He would condemn his works to fire again."

Unfortunately, Mrs. Bradstreet did not write poetry of a sort that we now greatly care for. She wrote

on The Four Seasons, Four Ages of Man, Four Constitutions, Four Monarchies; and if there were any other things which might be grouped in fours, of those she wrote also. Her verse is heavy and stilted, and it is long since any man or woman had patience to read her productions through; but she satisfied the ideals of her time, and made for woman a place in the literature of the new world. Had she not as good a right to write bad poetry as Michael Wigglesworth with his "Day of Doom"? And for that matter, how would Michael have managed to care for his church in Malden, and his duties as "physician to soul and body too" if he had not had in succession three wives, each one of whom in turn patched up his broken health and enabled him to do more good and write more bad verse?

Yet our concern is not with Michael Wigglesworth, nor yet with Anne Dudley Bradstreet. Our concern is with modern women, and we are preparing to consider some of the modern women who are authors, and there are too many of them for our space. Let us keep well this side of the beginning of the nineteenth century for our birthdays, and discuss no women who are still living, and we shall have more names than we can manage.

It is a far cry from Anne Dudley Bradstreet to Margaret Fuller Ossoli. Yet they sprang out of a

common stock that same stock that made Puritan New England and literary England. She was born at Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, May 23, 1810. Her ancestry was long and honorable. Her father was a lawyer and a member of Congress. He taught her the classics, for there was a time when a member of Congress might possibly know the classics. He used to say to her while she was yet a child that she knew more Greek and Latin than half the professors. By the time she had finished her education she knew more of most subjects than the other half. She learned French and Italian, and on the death of her father became teacher of languages in Boston, and subsequently the head of a school in Providence. In 1839 she published a translation of Eckermann's "Conversations with Goethe." Emerson said, not of this translation, but of an article by her in the magazine of which she was editor, that never had Goethe had a braver, more intelligent or more sympathetic reader. She became the editor of *The Dial*, and wrote many brilliant articles. In 1846 she visited Europe, and flung herself with ardor into the cause of Italian liberty. There she met and married the Marquis Ossoli. As they were on their way to America, their vessel was wrecked on Fire Island in 1847 and they and their little son perished. Her tragic death was in some respects a fitting end to a turbulent life.

Margaret Fuller was not wholly a lovable woman, though she was devoted to love. She had eccentricities enough to satisfy Hawthorne, and to furnish material for his ill-natured portrait of her in his "Blythedale Romance." She was an egoist, saying of herself that she had met all people worth knowing in America and found no intellect comparable with her own. She was no violet blushing to a mossy stone. All the self-assertion of rampant feminism was in her. "There is no modesty or moderation in me" she said. Most statements of Margaret Fuller led to discussion or denial, but no one ever disputed that affirmation. Horace Mann said of her that "she had the disagreeableness of forty Fullers." Those who knew her well, Emerson and Hawthorne and the Transcendentalists, either speak harshly of her, or have a hard time apologizing for her. Lowell called her "a very foolish, conceited woman." All that she was. She was not beautiful, though she desired beauty. She was not socially popular, though she had social aspirations. She was not generally loved, though she had a heart that wanted love. At length she made up her mind "to be bright and ugly." She succeeded beyond her finest hopes.

But if this were the whole story of Margaret Fuller, (and some people think it is) we should not now be writing of her. Colonel Higginson said of her that

he had never known a person who left behind her so strong an affection. Emerson said that if one came to her with the humble petition, "Margaret, be merciful to me, a sinner," her love and tenderness were like a seraph's. Egotistical, self-assertive, at times disagreeable, she nevertheless had power to make people think, and not only to force their opinions but to persuade them. Horace Greeley said of her that had she taken to the stage, she would have been the first of actresses; it is equally true that her pupils and her associates came to admire, with a marvellous admiration, and some times with genuine affection, her personality and her powers. One of her pupils said, "I had no idea that I should esteem, and much more, love her. I found myself in a new world of thought; a flood of light irradiated all that I had seen in nature, observed in life, or read in books." She stirred the minds of men and women in an age when there was need of stirring, and she left behind the memory of vivacity and of stimulating zest. She made people think; most of them, perhaps, did not think as she did; but that was not necessary, or even in all cases desirable.

Let us turn from Margaret Fuller to her contemporary Harriet Beecher Stowe. She was a year younger than Margaret Fuller, and was born in the parsonage at Litchfield, Connecticut, June 14, 1811.

Not without reason has some wit divided humanity into three classes, saints, sinners and the Beecher family. Lyman Beecher and his children constitute a class by themselves. As Margaret's father was her teacher, so was Harriet's. She learned less of the classics than Margaret, she learned more of Theology, metaphysics and of common sense. She went to Cincinnati to teach in 1832, and married a theological professor, Rev. Calvin E. Stowe, January 6, 1836. In 1852 they removed to Brunswick, Maine, where she wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin." In the same year they removed to Andover, where Prof. Stowe taught in the Theological Seminary. She continued writing which she mingled with her housework. In 1863 the family removed to Hartford, where Prof. Stowe died in August, 1886, and she followed him, July 1, 1896.

The Beechers were all preachers. It was impossible for a child of Lyman Beecher to be anything else. Mrs. Stowe's great book is not in any proper sense a novel, it is a preachment. The plot with which the story begins concerns the separation of a young mulatto couple and comes to its climax in that most spectacular piece of melodrama in which Eliza crosses the river on the broken ice with the bloodhounds in hot pursuit. Then the story forgets this interesting couple and goes to following the fortunes of an aged negro preacher. There is no literary defense of a plot

like this. But if "Uncle Tom's Cabin" did not have a proper plot it had a wealth of character study and a vast human appeal. Her characters became names for popular types. Her Legree, her little Eva, her Uncle Tom, her Miss Ophelia and her Topsy may or may not have been creatures of the imagination; there is an authorized "Key" to Uncle Tom's Cabin and anyone who wants to know where Mrs. Stowe obtained her characters can find the material there. Whether she invented them or discovered them she found them and she made a story which had no small part in the awakening of popular conscience concerning the evils of slavery. Mrs. Stowe was lauded to the skies and cursed to the deepest abyss. Her fame became international. Her influence became as great as that of any other American author.

Considered as fiction, she produced better work than Uncle Tom's Cabin. "The Minister's Wooing" is certainly a better told story and her short tales in "Old Town Folks" are among the very best character sketches in all the literature of New England. But it is as the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" that Mrs. Stowe will always be known. There are cities in the South where to this day that story would not be permitted to appear upon the stage, which is at least a testimony that the book is not dead. When Harriet Beecher Stowe took her hands out of the dishwater

to write the next installment of that serial she knew that she was putting her whole heart and conscience into the effort. What she did not know was that she was producing a work which would continue to be praised and hated for a hundred years.

Julia Ward Howe was a few years younger than Harriet Beecher Stowe. She was born in New York City, May 27, 1819. Her father was a banker, and he and his wife came of old and distinguished families. Julia was privately educated. She was dreamy and unpractical but had a quick memory. She had little skill in sewing or in any use of tools, but she read Milton and Byron and Shakespeare and thought of writing. Later she studied French, German, philosophy, history and literature. Her early training gave her little opportunity for social life. In 1841 she was on a visit to Boston. Charles Sumner called upon her, being a friend of her brother, and told her about the notable work of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, who had established in South Boston the Perkins Institute for the Blind. He had achieved a miracle in his day in the teaching of Laura Bridgman, a blind deaf mute, the Hellen Keller of that earlier generation. Julia went to visit the Perkins Institute accompanied by Senator Sumner and the poet Longfellow. Dr. Howe was not at the school when they arrived, but before they left he came riding up on

his black horse. To Julia he looked like a hero, and the distinction he had already won in his profession was in full keeping with her first impression of him. He had done a notable work for the feeble minded and the insane. He was putting eyes into the finger-ends of the blind. Beside all this he was a zealous opponent of slavery. It was fore-ordained that Dr. Howe and Julia Ward should marry. They married and went abroad, and upon their return lived near the Perkins Institute, and had as their associates and friends all the distinguished people of literary Boston.

The Civil War came, and she made a visit to Washington. From her window in Willard's Hotel she beheld the passing regiments and heard snatches of the popular army song, "John Brown's Body Lies A-Mouldering in the Grave, but His Soul Goes Marching On." Her minister, Rev. James Freeman Clarke, said to her, "Mrs. Howe, why do you not write some good words for that stirring tune?" The suggestion pleased her. She later told the story in these words:

"I went to bed that night as usual, and slept, according to my wont, quite soundly. I awoke in the gray of the morning twilight; and as I lay waiting for the dawn, the long lines of the desired poem began to twine themselves in my mind. Having thought out all the stanzas, I said to myself, 'I must get up and write those verses down, lest I fall asleep again and

forget them.' So, with a sudden effort, I sprang out of bed, and found in the dimness an old stub of a pen, which I remembered to have used the day before. I scrawled the verses almost without looking at the paper. Having completed my writing, I returned to bed and fell asleep, saying to myself, 'I like this better than most things that I have written.' ''

The poem was published in The Atlantic Monthly under the title of ''The Battle Hymn of the Republic.'' That came very near to being the end of it. Chaplain McCabe, then with the army, read it, liked it and committed it to memory. About a year later he was captured and confined with other Union officers in Libby Prison. One day they heard of great Union victory. There was great rejoicing in the prison. Chaplain McCabe recited and sang the poem to the tune the soldiers all knew. His fellow prisoners joined in the chorus. Out of Libby Prison the song was born again and it now seems destined never to die.

Mrs. Howe lived to be ninety-one years of age. She was a woman of dignity and charm and carried her animation and optimism down to her extreme old age. Near the end of her life her daughter asked her, ''What is the ideal aim of life?'' Her mother paused a moment and put life's purpose as she saw it into four words. Anne Dudley Bradstreet with her fondness for putting things in fours would have rejoiced

that Mrs. Howe so thoroughly followed her method. These were the four purposes, which as Mrs. Howe believed, should constitute the ideal aim of life:

"To learn, to teach, to serve, to enjoy!"

We were intending to accept no birthdays that went back of the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, but we may stretch our chronology a little to include the date of February 28, 1797. Then was born in Buckland, Massachusetts, that foremost woman educator of her day, Mary Lyon. She was the daughter of a farmer, the fifth of seven children, and her father died when she was six years old. The family was poor, and Mary never had time to play. She was busy with housekeeping, gardening and nursing. On winter evenings she carded and spun wool and worked at the loom. Yet she was not oppressed by the toil she had high spirits and good humor and she obtained an education. Two coverlets spun, woven and dyed with her own hands paid for her admission to Sanderson Academy in Ashland, Mass. Her dress was blue homespun and her speech and manner betrayed her rural background, but she consumed a Latin grammar over Sunday and recited it almost in toto on Monday. She had a fine faculty for friendship. With no money and with very little assistance she obtained an education. Her definition of an education was to be fitted to do good. Working sometimes twenty hours

out of the twenty-four, she finished her own period of preparation, and then set out to found a school for farmers' daughters. Mt. Holyoke was only one result of her endeavor. In a very real sense all education for women in America was stimulated by her sacrifice and service. She died in 1849, and her Academy is now a College, with wide reaching influence. Mary Lyon is the mother of more daughters than any other woman in America today.

If we were to go ten years further back, we should find Emma Willard, who was born in Berlin, Connecticut, in 1787, and who became in 1821, principal of a Female Seminary in Troy, New York. She lived long and died in 1870. The school she founded is still in existence, and has never been made over into a college, but the work of Emma Willard continues to be that of one America's most notable pioneers in the educational life of women.

Among the finest types of American womanhood in the field of education in more recent days stands the figure of Alice Freeman Palmer. She was born in Colesville, Broome County, New York, February 21, 1855, and so was a full half century later than the other women of whom we have been thinking. Much educational water had run under the scholastic bridge since Mary Lyon. But Alice Freeman was born, as Mary Lyon was, upon a farm, and with very narrow

means. Her early education was in an elementary and disordered district school whose teacher was paid two dollars a week, and boarded around. Encouraged by her father she pursued her studies, and graduated from the University of Michigan. In 1879 she became a teacher in Wellesley, and later its president. A woman of the highest ideals, and of strong personal influence, she stamped the mark of her character upon the young women who came under her influence. The feeling of her students toward her was not only one of profound reverence, but it carried with it the deepest regard for the kind of life which Miss Freeman set forth and exemplified. Her marriage to Prof. George Herbert Palmer of Cambridge was ideally happy. His biography of her is less intimate than reverent. "Talents so obviously meant for mankind no one had a right to seize for himself. 'Not mine, I never called her mine.' Only on condition that I could give her enlargement, not confinement, was I justified in accepting her sacrifice and bearing her away to my home." If these words of his seem to lack anything of the ardor of the unreasonable lover, they show at least the deep appreciation of the scholar and gentleman for the value to society of woman whom his marriage was not wholly to take from the field in which she had already won success. Together these two scholars and friends of mankind wrought

out their problems, and her life continued to be a blessing to the world. She died in Paris, December 6, 1902, aged only forty-seven, but her influence continues in the lives of America's younger womanhood, the influence of a woman learned, strong, resourceful, courageous, and always womanly.

The women of America have just pride in their share in a notable work which contributed much to the abolition of the legalized sale of intoxicating liquor. They date the origin of their movement from the rise of the Crusaders, at Hillsboro, Ohio, where a band of women in 1874 invaded the saloons, sang, prayed and pleaded with the venders of liquor to cease their iniquitous traffic. In the first fifty days it is said that the saloons were abolished in 250 towns. Frances E. Willard was then in Chicago. She was born at Churchville, N. Y., September 28, 1839. Her parents were both school teachers, who had received their education at Oberlin. The family moved to the vicinity of Janesville, Wisconsin. Frances studied the three R's in a little log schoolhouse. She read Don Quixote and Shakespeare. As we have already referred to Margaret Fuller, it is interesting to note the influence of this woman's life upon a woman so utterly different as Frances Willard. While she was yet under twenty she wrote in her diary:

"I am more interested in the Memoirs of Margaret

Fuller Ossoli than in any book I have read for years. Here we see what a woman achieved for herself, not so much fame or honor, these are of minor importance, but a whole character, a cultivated intellect, right judgment, self-knowledge, self-happiness. If she, why not we, by steady toil?''

She received her higher education at the Northwestern Female College at Evanston. There she came under strong religious conviction. She became a teacher, but when the anti-saloon movement began she left the schoolroom and gave the remainder of her fine and beautiful life to that great work.

The anti-saloon movement raised up some militant women, such as Carrie Nation, a strong, motherly, whole-souled and fearless woman. It also raised up other women of whom Frances Willard was the foremost leader and exponent, as gentle as they were courageous and as womanly as they were earnest. The struggle was fierce, and both types of women had their place in it. In the rotunda of the Capitol in Washington each state may be represented by two statues of its citizens. Illinois has made choice for its representatives of Abraham Lincoln and Frances Willard.

It might be said concerning most of the foregoing that while these women are notable, there are few of them who deserve to be called heroic. They were

conspicuously useful women, but why should they be classed among modern heroines? The answer is that we have narrowed unreasonably our conception of the heroic. Women, and for that matter men also, can be and are brave in many other respects than those which lend themselves to the uses of melodrama. Every one of the women we have named and countless others whom we might have named deserve to be remembered for accomplishments that were truly heroic.

The earnest question might be asked, however, whether conditions of modern life are really such as to produce heroic women. Emerson Hough points out that "The Chief figure of the American West, the figure of the age, is not the long-haired, fringed-legginged man riding a raw-boned pony, but the gaunt and sad-faced woman sitting on the front seat of the wagon, following her lord where he might lead, her face hidden in the same ragged sun-bonnet which had crossed the Apalachians and the Missouri long before. She was the true American heroine. The New York *Times* was recently asked by the League of Women Voters for help in supplying Miss Graciela Mandujano of Chili with the names of America's twelve greatest women. The New York *Times* answered that, "the twelve greatest women in the United States are women who have never been heard of outside of their own homes." The editor of the New York *Times* is

evidently a courageous man, but there is something to be said in support of his declaration. It is equally possible, of course, that America's twelve greatest men are equally obscure. But it is a fair question whether the modern woman has been trained amid conditions which are likely to produce in her those qualities that are fairly entitled to be called heroic. To this question we have a partial answer in the type of womanhood which America and the world displayed in the World War. America's own part in that war was brief, but it did not fail to disclose the essential quality of her womanhood.

Foremost among the women who realized in the popular mind the ideal of the heroic in the World War was Edith Cavell. She was born in 1872, in the village of Swardeston, Norfolk, where her father was rector of the parish church. In her childhood she knew Florence Nightingale and she gave herself to the work of nursing. She qualified in 1896, and did ten years of responsible work in England. In 1906 she became the first directress of a "Belgian School of Certified Nurses" at Brussels. For eight years she continued at this work, raising up a group of nurses for Belgium, and then came the war. For a year she worked as military nurse and was active also in assisting the escape of convalescent prisoners of war and of Belgian civilians of military age. On

August 5, 1915, she was arrested at her hospital by German soldiers and carried away to the military prison of St. Gilles. Although the American Legation intervened on her behalf, she was given a secret trial, found guilty, condemned to death and shot on Tuesday morning October 12. A few hours before she died, she was permitted to be visited by a British chaplain, who brought back to the world the simple story of the heroic spirit in which she met death. Utterly unterrified by the fear of what lay before her, and with no regret for what she had done, or with hatred or bitterness toward those who were about to execute a cruel sentence upon her, she received the Holy Communion and sent her parting messages to her relations and friends. As for the rest, we have the word of the German military chaplain who was with her at the end:

"She was brave and bright to the last. She professed her Christian faith, and that she was glad to die for her country. She died like a heroine."

No incident in the War produced a more profound impression than the death of the brave Christian woman. The heart of Belgium, the heart of England, the heart of America responded with admiration and a kindled spirit. Germany could ill afford to compass the death of a woman whose execution so profoundly stirred the heart of the world.

Edith Cavell was the follower of Florence Nightingale. That eminent humantarian, Miss Nightingale, was born May 12, 1820, and died August 13, 1910. Well born, and reared in comfort, she turned her back upon opportunities for marriage and gave herself to the work of scientific nursing. It was she who instituted nursing as a profession, in Great Britain and very largely in the world. Her most notable achievement was in the Crimean War, when she took charge of the hospital at Scutari opposite Constantinople. After this notable achievement she almost disappeared from public life, and her death surprised many people who had thought of her as belonging to a past generation. But she continued her work, though in less public fashion, and exerted a profound influence in the British hospital service almost to the end of her life. Since her death her biographers have told us that she was not altogether the woman whom popular fancy had painted. She had been thought of as all gentleness and grace, ministering with the sweetest of smiles to dying soldiers, stepping noiselessly through the wards at night, "the lady with the lamp." We are now told that Florence Nightingale was a self-willed woman, with a violent temper, and a vitrolic tongue; that she drove her associates mercilessly, and that those who withstood her suffered from the lashings of her tongue. Probably all this is true,

but when Florence Nightingale arrived in Scutari, forty-two wounded men out of every hundred were dying, and when she left her hospitals were showing a death rate of twenty-two out of every thousand. It took a sharp tongue and an inflexible will to overcome lethargy and prejudice and hostility and inertia; all these Florence Nightingale had to face and she faced them and conquered them to the world's lasting profit.

A roll call of her American contemporaries who gave themselves successfully to the work of nursing, reveals some necessity for the same qualities. Mother Bickerdike, whom the soldiers of Sherman's Army loved so well, was a terror to evil-doers. When she discharged an incompetent or drunken surgeon and that officer appealed to General Sherman, the appeal met with no encouragement. "She ranks me", said the General.

The Superintendent of Nurses in America's Civil War was Dorothea Lynde Dix, who was born in Maine, April 4, 1802, and died July 17, 1887. Not alone by her work in the organization and training of nurses should she be remembered; she herself distinctly desired that that should not be the work with which her life memory should be associated. The effort to which she gave the labor of her years was that of the care of the insane. No other one person in America has

done so much for the more humane treatment of these unfortunate people as Dorothea Dix. Her work in the Civil War was a great work, but it was compassed about by many difficulties and pursued with much vexation of spirit. Miss Dix was too far advanced in years and too infirm in health for so heavy a responsibility, but she carried it through with a very large degree of success. It grieved her that she could not inspire all her associates with her own high sense of loyalty to her country and humanity. And she could not sufficiently make allowance for the infirmities of human nature. But spite of her limitations, hers was a monumental contribution to the work of patriotism and humanity.

Most notable of all women whom the American Civil War gave to the world, and largest in the permanent influence of her life work upon succeeding decades was Clara Barton. She was born at Oxford, Massachusetts, on Christmas day, 1821. She was the youngest child in a family whose other children had almost reached maturity, and she found herself an isolated little girl in a family of grown-ups. She was by nature so timid that looking back upon her childhood she said, "I remember nothing but fear."

While still a little girl, she began teaching school, her skirts being lengthened by way of celebration of her sudden transition from girlhood to womanhood.

After some years of teaching near her home she became the first teacher and principal of the free school of Bordentown, New Jersey. From there she went to Washington, where she had a clerkship in the Patent Office, and was in that city when the Civil War broke out.

Her first service was to the Massachusetts men who were fired upon as they passed through Baltimore on their way to the relief of Washington. Some of these were from her own home county of Worcester. The battles near Washington made a hospital of that city and she was grieved to see what appeared to her the needless suffering and loss of life occasioned by the long delay in removing men from the field to the hospital. After various experiments, she decided upon a plan which was to carry relief to the battlefield itself. This plan was frowned upon by officials, but she won her way against opposition. She learned to "follow the cannon." Often under fire herself, and exposed to great peril, she succeeded in organizing a method of caring for wounded soldiers, which gave to her the popular name of "the **angel** of the battlefield." She protested all her life against the popular idea that she nursed with her own hands more wounded soldiers than other women nurses. Her distinction lay in the organization of a work which carried relief to the point of initial need. When the war was ended

her name stood foremost in the long list of heroic women who had served their country and ministered to the suffering and wounded.

It is to Clara Barton we owe the identification and marking of the graves at Andersonville. To her also, was due the gratitude of many homes for her recovery of men who were missing at the end of the war, or the finding of their places of death and burial.

For a number of years Miss Barton was upon the lecture platform in a service both pleasant and remunerative; but her health, impaired by the war, broke down, and she was sent abroad for rest and recuperation. While she was in Europe the Franco-Prussian War broke out, and she, as an American woman distinguished by her service on the battlefield, was invited to assume responsibility for the care of wounded and of refugees. In this work she first learned the method of the Red Cross, whose name she had never heard before her sailing from America. She became a devout believer not only in that organization as it existed for service in time of war, but in what it might be as a society which could also render service in time of fire, flood or pestilence.

Clara Barton returned to America, decorated with the Red Cross placed upon her breast by distinguished representatives of that organization in Europe, and wearing also decorations placed upon her by the hand

of royalty. She was at this time one of America's most distinguished women, but she returned to a period of loneliness such as few women have known. Struggling against ill health, opposition and inertia, she endeavored to secure the adhesion of the United States to the Treaty of Geneva, and America's entrance into an international relationship which would make this country one of the nations acknowledging the Red Cross. It seems incredible now, but it is true, that the Treaty of Geneva, which was adopted in Europe in 1864, received no encouragement from the United States. Sweden, Greece, Great Britain, Austria, Bavaria, France, and many other countries; even Persia and Turkey and Chili and the Argentine Republic had agreed to the Treaty, but the United States stood back. Clara Barton was one of a group of enlightened people who saw the necessity for this work and gradually aroused public sentiment to a belief in it. Single-handed and alone she labored at this thankless and unrecognized task until at length the President of the United States, James A. Garfield and his Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, came to believe in the righteousness of her appeal. On July 26, 1882, more than eighteen years after the Geneva Convention, the United States ratified the Treaty of Geneva and became the thirty-second nation to accept the Red Cross.

Miss Barton attended a number of the International Conventions of this organization, and received such recognition as came to no other person connected with the Red Cross. For many years thereafter she devoted herself to the development of Red Cross activities in time of peace. The Mississippi and Ohio River floods of 1882 and 1883, the Louisiana and Mississippi tornado of 1883, the Ohio River floods of 1884, the Texas Famine of 1885, were among the early fields of relief to which she hastened with personal direction of Red Cross activities. The Johnstown flood of 1889 was one of the more conspicuous of her labors, which included also the Sea Islands hurricane of 1893, and the yellow fever epidemic. The Russian famine of 1891 and 1892 and the Armenian sufferings of 1895 and 1896 carried the work abroad and Miss Barton came back wearing decorations from foreign potentates, including even the Sultan of Turkey.

Miss Barton's work reached its climax in Cuba, in the war with Spain. Clara Barton was seventy-eight years old at this time, but had a large degree of vigor and her heart was young.

She retired from the management of the Red Cross June 16, 1904 and she died at her Red Cross home in Glen Echo, Maryland, April 12, 1912, and was buried at her old home in Oxford, Massachusetts.

Clara Barton sometimes gave the impression of

being a tall woman, but she stood exactly five feet high. Her hair was brown and her eyes were of the same color. Her voice was low, soft and gentle, but in moments of indignation instead of rising it dropped, sometimes a full octave. Few men were brave enough to stand before her under those conditions. She was delicate and ladylike, womanly to the last instinct of her nature. No contact with suffering or brutality ever made her less sensitive or coarsened her. She had the refinement, the dignity, the gentleness which went with a modest nature. But with these delicate and feminine qualities she had a mighty will and a purpose from which it was almost impossible to swerve her. To the end of her life she was timid and abnormally sensitive, but she had a courage such as few men or women ever have occasion to display.

When the World War came and American young women gave themselves by hundreds and thousands to the relief of suffering abroad, they carried every one upon her cap or arm the insignia which Clara Barton had brought to America and after years of untiring effort persuaded her government to adopt, the symbol of the Red Cross.

CHARLES PROTEUS STEINMETZ

1865-1923

ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING

CHARLES PROTEUS STEINMETZ

ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING

By THOMAS COMMERFORD MARTIN

GREAT geniuses have now and then been found in the human flotsam and jetsam brought to American shores by the tidal waves of emigration from the Old World; but this process of adding to the intellectual resources of the United States never worked more fruitfully than when it shifted from a disdainful Germany the weird, phenomenal little "hunchback, who played with thunderbolts"—Charles Proteus Steinmetz.

In all the unparalleled romance of actual electrical development in America, no other career is so extraordinary as that of the simple, deformed citizen whose sudden death in 1923 was such a shock to an admiring public.

"When Steinmetz spoke," runs a eulogy printed in the *Electrical World*, "men's faces lighted in anticipation and glowed with appreciation at the breadth, depth and clearness of his thoughts, fluently ex-

pressed, and illumined by a personality sympathetic, mellowed and ripened by a life of study and experience. Those qualities which fix the moral stature of a man—patience, kindness, generosity, courtesy, humility, unselfishness, good temper, sincerity—were possessed in large measure by Charles Proteus Steinmetz."

From whatever angle the career and work of Doctor Steinmetz are regarded, the review of it gains the more it is all analysed and studied and is submitted to the critical test of his peers and contemporaries throughout the vast range of physics. To say that Steinmetz was a many-sided genius expresses it but mildly. The man was not only full of spectacular accomplishment, he was a unique spectacle in himself. He was not only the mathematical genius whose treatment of complex problems in electrical engineering brushed away many grave difficulties, but he was an inventor with over 200 patents to his credit; and beyond that he was for years one of the most prolific contributors in the world to the fundamental literature of dynamic electricity, by books, papers, articles and discussions. And then beyond that, again, came his ready application of new science to equally new and changeful social conditions, and his large intense interest in human welfare, in society and in politics at large. It can best be summed up in the tribute of S. E. Doane,

a well-known electrical engineer: "The world has lost a great man. It has gained a priceless heritage through his having lived; and life for others has been made sweeter because of him. He loved out-of-doors and the open air. He loved people. His mind was constructive. His optimism and hope for the future were inspiring. To know him was to love him."

There are life histories that typify, embrace and explain a great period, and sum up its essential characteristics. That of Steinmetz is peculiarly and felicitously of such a nature. One of the significant developments, of an indirect nature, of the Great War is that it has created an insatiable hunger for knowledge of the personalities behind the events; and has approved a philosophy of history which looks to individuals no less than to tendencies, that takes critical account of the Person as well as the Period—a method, indeed, that is admirably embodied in the "Beacon Lights of History." Thus while the present treatment or "appreciation" of Steinmetz, is essentially personal, it will be seen, owing to his own broadness of relationship to affairs and his width of intellectual sweep, to crystallize ideas and processes quite sharply and to illustrate much more than the electrical conditions of his day and generation, where he was a recognized Master.

No one who ever saw Steinmetz can forget the first

and lasting vivid impression of that crippled and stunted man. As a matter of fact, Nature had cut out the framework of a man big physically, and but for an irreparable accident in babyhood, his bodily bulk might well have vied with the extraordinary mass of his mind. But he was outwardly nothing more than "a disembodied intellect." As was said by one friend: "To see the gnome-like figure—his body was a mere appendage to a giant brain—playing in his laboratory with thunderbolts of his own creation, was to witness something that seemed to border on the supernatural."

A very human picture is that given by Dr. E. W. Rice, who met him thirty years ago, when the General Electric Company absorbed the Electrical Department of Rudolph Eickemeyer, a famous hat-machinery inventor at Yonkers, New York. Rice approved of the acquisition provided it included the chief asset, a young engineer named Steinmetz, whose articles he had read with profound impression as to their originality and intellectual power.

"I shall never forget," says Dr. Rice, "our first meeting in Eickemeyer's workshop at Yonkers. I was startled, and somewhat disappointed by the strange sight of a small frail body, surmounted by a large head, with long hair hanging to the shoulders, clothed in an old cardigan jacket, cigar in mouth, sitting

crosslegged on a laboratory worktable. My disappointment was but momentary, and completely disappeared the moment he began to talk. I instantly felt the strange power of his piercing but kindly eyes, and, as he continued, his enthusiasm, his earnestness, his clear conceptions, and marvellous grasp of engineering problems convinced me that we had indeed made a great find.

"It needed no prophetic insight to realise that here was a great man, one who spoke with the authority of accurate and profound knowledge, and one who, if given the opportunity, was destined to render great service to our industry."

That opportunity was taken and richly fulfilled. It is interesting to present the direct industrial and financial results seen in the growth of the great corporation which Steinmetz then joined as a consulting engineer and of which he died consulting engineer, still in harness.

And now to the beginning of an extraordinary career and the study of a personality unique in the entirely modern domain of applied electricity. Steinmetz was born April 9, 1865, on the northern confines of Germany, at Breslau. He had Polish antecedents and relatives. His grandfather was a German. A choice possession of Steinmetz and relic of early days was a little old red-painted wooden chest, of a kind

not uncommon in Europe and often to be seen amongst the personal effects of recent arrivals from across the Atlantic. Upon this his old Polish grandmother sat as she watched him traveling across the room in Breslau, straddling a chair and playing a favorite game of "Going to America."

Aside from the enormous centripetal pull that America has on the young manhood of Europe, it would be interesting to know what was the specific determining factor in such a great life as this, in starting afar off the individual "trend to the West." Van Depoele, the great pioneer trolley-car inventor, had already dabbled in electricity in his native Flanders, but when he fled through Antwerp he came to Detroit to carve saints and reredoses and medieval furniture. Nikola Tesla, the great Slav inventor and perfecter of the two-phase polyphase system, tells of the irresistible charm that Mark Twain's humor had for him away off on the bloody borderland of Servian Turkey. Michael Pupin, inventor of the loading coils that enable telephoning to be done across the Continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, told the immigration inspector as he landed with a red fez on his head and five cents in his pocket, that "he knew nobody in this country except Franklin, Lincoln and Harriet Beecher Stowe."

A system of immigration control that would admit

such men, contributors of untold wealth and power to the land of their adoption, had much to be said in its favor as compared with later methods out of which the soul of spiritual and natural encouragement has fled. Of these four notable leaders in electrical advance, poor Steinmetz, presaturated with American leanings and longings, stood the least chance of admission, for not only was he penniless, and an exile for Socialistic beliefs, but he had sorely defective sight. A very likely "public charge!"

Yet his father, variously described as a railway official and a lithographer—he may have been both—had had the means and willingness to give him a really sound collegiate education. The youth studied at the Universities in Breslau and Berlin, and later in the excellent Polytechnic in Zurich. It is curious to read his own unfinished notes on German student life, in a period so remote and unlike that which succeeded, that it is difficult to realise he is describing the militaristic country which not long after was to plunge the World in unparalleled war and utter desolation: "The Germany of my recollection, which I left in 1888," he says, "was the agricultural Germany before the days of industrial development. In those days, Germany was still a backward country and manufactured products were largely imported from England. Engineering schools and technical colleges did

not exist, but the universities were classical institutions of learning, developed from the early Middle Ages."

As a boy at school, Steinmetz had great difficulty in learning the multiplication tables. When he reached the classical "gymnasium," mathematics entranced him and at once became his chosen study; but he also went in for Latin, Greek, French, Polish and Hebrew. English he did not take up. The present writer bought and published in an electrical journal the first mathematical article Steinmetz ever wrote in English.

The shy little author had not been very long in America. A colleague went to get it. When he brought it back and threw it with a dubious air on the desk, the remark was made, after a brief glance at the pages in crabbed German penmanship: "Well, if his mathematics are as poor as his English, we've little to show for that $15," which, Steinmetz had anxiously explained, would be very welcome right away. He never became a highly polished orator or writer, but long before he died his mastery of a terse, nervous, idiomatic English style made him a notably successful lecturer and clear exponent of involved facts and principles. Even as a young student, this dwarf—he stood only four feet—made an impression on his fellows at Breslau who, it is said, bestowed

upon him the middle name "Proteus," as a testimony to his many mental angles. Anyhow, though christened Carl August Rodolf, he let all that go and took in preference the cognomen thus bestowed upon him by the university club. Throughout his life and record in America he was known only as Charles Proteus—curiously felicitous in the case of one so closely identified with the highest manifestations ever attained of the protean power he was to shape and direct for a quarter of a century.

Steinmetz entered Breslau University in 1882, when in his eighteenth year, and seems to have forged ahead rapidly in his undergraduate work. The time approached for graduation, and the thesis to be presented for his doctorate degree in philosophy had already been written and accepted. Its alluring title may be given: "On Involuntary Self-Reciprocal Correspondences in Space Which Are Defined by a Three-Dimensional Linear System of Surfaces of the Nth Order."

Adhesion to such safe lines of thought and speech would possibly have found him still at Breslau; but his insatiate reading and passion for investigation had carried him far beyond the University courses or the scientific literature in his father's little library. He had become affected by the fever of Socialism and was even editing a small Socialistic sheet, when its

boldness attracted the attention of the indignant university authorities. The paper was confiscated, several suspected students were arrested and imprisoned; and things looked very black for the ardent young editor himself, as a marked man. His own arrest was imminent. But he contrived to slip stealthily over the border into Austria. Switzerland was decidedly safer than autocratic Austria. Thither he proceeded swiftly until he reached Zurich, where he resumed his studies at the famous Polytechnicum.

Possibly there came a little help from home, but at best he made a dismally scanty living with his pen and as a tutor. Here occurred the good luck—or shaping providence—that put Steinmetz in touch with a young American, Oscar Asmussen, who during his studies at the Polytechnic also fell in love with a Swiss girl. Asmussen's uncle, his guardian, a wealthy Californian, was very angry when the news reached him, and ordered Oscar to return to the United States immediately. There must have existed a strong friendship between the two youths, for Oscar at once, as he decided reluctantly to start homeward, offered to defray the expenses of the trip also for Steinmetz. This only meant passage in the steerage, but it sufficed.

As for the little political exile, he was now realising his childish game of "Going to America," and in after life, when crossing the Atlantic in the best accommo-

dations available had ceased to be a novelty, he often said that the trip in the steerage was the most pleasant one he had ever had. Throughout life his simpler austere tastes were easily satisfied. When Steinmetz arrived at the port of New York on the French liner, "La Champagne," the immigration inspectors might well have been excused if they had debarred him, for in addition to his ordinary physical defects, and absolute poverty, he had a badly swollen face. The pleadings of Asmussen strongly reinforcing his own, at last made the forbidding gates of Castle Garden swing inward, and together the lads secured cheap lodgings in Brooklyn. Soon after that, Asmussen brought over his sweetheart from Switzerland, and was married. This, as very often happens, broke up the partnership, the comrades soon separated, and so far as is known never met again. Kindhearted friend, Asmussen, having played a very significant part, drops out of the story for ever. To sum it all up in the delightful comment of Steinmetz himself: "I am indebted to Prince Bismarck for the fact that I have devoted my life to the study of electricity, and also for the fact that I have done my work in the United States."

With one or two letters of introduction in his pocket to electricians in New York, Steinmetz did not find employment readily. He was a stranger in a strange land, his appearance was most unattractive, his rasp-

ing, staccato English speech was detestable. But once again good luck befel him, and he met that kindly, goodnatured German-American, Rudolph Eickemeyer, a versatile inventor, manufacturer and electrical pioneer. As one of the creators of the American hat-making industry, he had built up large works at Yonkers. But he was more notable as a marked illustration of the manner in which electrical development summoned its recruits from an endless variety of other arts and sciences in a day when there was not a single study course in electrical engineering in all America.

Quaint and tender old Eickemeyer, impressed with the weird personality and winning ways of the little German, of whom even then it might have been said, as it was later, that he had "the faculty of being entertaining always," gave him a job at $2 a day in the Osterheld & Eickemeyer drafting room, rather however to make abstruse electrical calculations than to exhibit any skill as a draftsman. It was still the day of the "direct current" for every electrical application in light, heat and power. The later period of "alternating current" utilisation with which the work and success of Steinmetz were to be so closely associated had barely begun. But even while working on direct current dynamos, motors and street cars, Steinmetz, mere supernumerary in a factory in a minor

Hudson River town, began to lead alternating current thought and discussion, and his articles published also in England and in Germany began to attract admiring comment and discussion. Out of that has since grown a whole "Steinmetz Library," nine large volumes of electrical books, steadily in demand.

He often said that it was one of the most stimulating experiences of his life, in the way of personal association, to meet in the Eickemeyer shops, the late Stephen D. Field, nephew of the Atlantic Cable hero, Cyrus W. Field, and himself an electrical pioneer of the very first order. Beginning a brilliant career as a telegraph operator in his native Berkshire Hills, Massachusetts, as early as 1868, "Steve" Field built in California two small electric motors with the idea of applying them to the operation of street cars on the steep hills of San Francisco. In that city also he used electric power, as early as 1878, to drive an elevator. A year later he filed an application for the first American patent on an electric railway energized by current from a dynamo.

In 1883, the Field and Edison railway interests were consolidated, and that same year the first American electric railway for commercial operation was opened by Field at the Chicago Railway Exposition, carrying for fare nearly 30,000 passengers to whom regular railway tickets—the first electrical—were

issued. Later in the same year the same plant was sent to the Louisville Exposition, where it also carried a large number of passengers. Then the scene shifted to New York, where the electrification of the now successful steam-locomotive elevated roads, was a pressing theme of controversy and a center of attack, notably by such great electric railway pioneers as Sprague and Daft. In Chicago, Field had named his locomotive "The Judge," after another uncle, famous on the California bench; and he brought his ideas and experience and his ever fertile mind to the metropolis and to the Eickemeyer shops.

Steinmetz became deeply interested in the work and very much attached to this erratic, typical inventor. Field was the second American to mold and shape his career, and was soon to assist in lifting him up and away from the drafting room to a research laboratory where he specialized in magnetic testing as applied to dynamo-electric machinery.

It was all a very fortunate conjunction, for Eickemeyer had also worked out some interesting designs in electric traction as well as novel and economical windings for dynamos and motors. Authorities give exclusive credit to Steinmetz for his first important contribution to electrical science in investigations of the laws of magnetism, and particularly in formulating and determining the laws that govern the losses in

iron subjected to varying magnetic induction. The quality of electrical machinery was thus improved, while the weight and factory costs were reduced. As the great authority, Dr. E. W. Rice, looking back over the thirty years says: "It is difficult at this date to realise the fundamental importance of this one contribution to the orderly and definite advance of the electrical industry."

Quite from another angle, a corresponding statement is made by Mr. S. E. Doane, a leader in the field of incandescent lamp manufacture, in reference to early association with Steinmetz. In speaking of the distressful days of 1892-3 in American industry and finance, he says: "At such a moment when we needed strengthening, our little group of technical men was greatly heartened to learn that Charles Steinmetz, a man whose name had become known to us through his technical articles, had been added to our staff. He quickly became the referee to whom we brought our engineering and scientific questions before carrying them up to Professor Elihu Thomson, who was our final court. It did not matter whether or not he had had experience with the particular subject. We learned very quickly that he had a clarity of mind and a lucidity of thought which was more like a gift of the Gods than something which could be acquired by education or experience."

Certainly a remarkable status to be attained in a few years by a physically handicapped foreigner, who but a few years before had fled his own land as a political exile and had narrowly escaped exclusion from "God's Country," for bodily defects!

His prominent appearance on the scene of affairs coincided closely with the marvellously successful introduction of the transformer and the alternating current. Taking the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, as marking the epoch when Steinmetz was welcomed as a powerful addition to the engineering resources of the General Electric Company, the direct or continuous current under the splendid leadership of Edison, Brush, Elihu Thomson, Farmer, Weston and others of like calibre, had dominated in all the fields of electric light and power. It alone was used for arc and incandescent lighting, for industrial and domestic power, for main-line traction and trolley cars—and, of course, for electroplating, electrolytic work and for storage batteries.

Then, suddenly, both in Europe and in America came, in 1885-6, the invention of the induction coil-transformer—depending on alternating current—which, like a springboard, it takes and catapults to inconceivable distances with incredible economy. Our own protagonist of this method was William Stanley, of Great Barrington, Mass., "father of the American

transformer.'' Its adoption had resulted in such a revolution in methods of generating electrical energy that by 1921, alternating current was used for no less than 95 percent of central station current production.

The problems of direct current could usually be handled with simple mathematics, but the alternating current was beset by such esoteric phenomena as capacity, reactance, leading and lagging current, phase displacement, etc., to be dealt with only higher mathematics, involving the use of calculus methods not then familiar. Steinmetz, with his famous Law of Hysteresis, and the Symbolic Method of calculating alternating currents, was a shining light in this obscure domain of engineering research, and his work is best described by a close associate, Dr. Rice, who says: ''He abolished the mystery surrounding alternating current apparatus and soon taught our engineers to design such machines with as much ease and certainty as those employing the old familiar direct current.'' Such new problems he attacked and solved with success by the use of what was known as ''complex quantities.'' Steinmetz himself regarded this as one of his greatest contributions to the art; and the method was so powerful, direct and rapid that its use spread throughout the world. ''Not only did the adoption of these mathematical methods open the door to many to do useful design work, who otherwise could

not have done so, but it enormously increased the speed with which definite and accurate calculations and designs could be made.''

It was, indeed, only natural and inevitable that while thus blazing the way, Steinmetz although not a great genius as an inventor, should as a sheer pioneer make many practical inventions such as those in phase transformation, the induction regulator, the metallic electrode arc lamp with magnetite, the improved mercury arc, lightning arresters, generators, motors, transformers, and specific lighting, heating and chemical operations. All told, he had no fewer than 200 American patents to his credit. He was still inventing when he died, especially in the field of 1,000,000 volt ''lightning,'' whose phenomena and effects simulate closely those of the artillery of the heavens. But there were other ideas at which he was hammering, not less recondite and fascinating, such as the cultivation of microbes as a basis for ''human nature's daily food.'' Speaking of foods brings to mind also the experiments he made over a long series of years as to the effect of electricity and electric light in the stimulation of plant growth.

As to his later occupation, Mr. John R. Hewett, of Schenectady, has summed it up succinctly in saying: ''The great work that Steinmetz was so busy on during the last few years of his life was a study of the

mechanism of electric breakdowns in air, oil and solids. He himself thought that the importance of this would outrank most of his other work. He was trying to determine just what happens at the moment of a breakdown, when the insulation fails; and his 'lightning generator' was the instrument he was using to create the highpowered 'transients' he needed for experimental purposes in the design of lightning-proof and transient-proof apparatus.''

As Mr. Hewett in editorial comment on this work, remarked, on another aspect of this great investigation, the outcome was that he propounded his General Theory of Electrical Transients. In brief, he found that it was not the actual stroke of lightning that did the most damage but the great brief surge or ''transient,'' as he termed it, which was produced by the machines in circuit, when they got out of control due to the lightning stroke. With this knowledge, again, he attacked the problems of protecting power transmission lines and all the apparatus feeding to or from them; ''and the modern lightning arrester is largely the result of his work.''

Steinmetz was profoundly interested in the newer physics of electricity—the physics and chemistry of the electron, and the fascinating problem or scientific speculation of both releasing and utilising ''atomic energy.'' A great deal of just such modern electrical

development is based upon the work that he was doing along the lines just indicated, and he was not less a student of the theories of relativity, than of those modern ideas that hold matter itself to be no more than "electrical whorls" screwed up into a tight knot.

As to the possibilities of using some day the energy released from the atom, he expressed his hope enthusiastically: "Were we able to harness this energy we should have a force beyond anything known before in terms of power. If we could extract the energy in a pound of radio-active substance, we should derive therefrom as much energy as we could by burning about 1500 tons of coal; and there would be as much expansive or explosive force in that pound as in 1500 tons of dynamite." Steinmetz had a distinct gift in thus summing up in concrete figures a notion that might otherwise be loose or vague in the popular mind. Thus when trying to point out how uncommercial was the plausible plan to capture and use aerial electricity—the lightning—he said: "The electricity in a cloud that can hurl a thousand lightning bolts is worth just ten dollars!"

It was, indeed, in such a graphic, emphatic way that he urged his advocacy of the use of all the higher-powered electrical methods in the operation of railroads, displacing steam. As he pointed out, railroads now burn in their locomotives in America about

160,000,000 tons of the coal they carry. If electrified, and the coal for manufacturing were burned at the mines, it would, he stated, be equivalent approximately to doubling the freight-carrying capacity of our railroads for other kinds of freight. About half the freight carried is coal. "It should mean a good deal to this country to get rid of the locomotive and the coal train. They are both wasters. Whatever is wasted anywhere is a burden upon the country." All this advocacy of electricity for traction as against the "archaic steam locomotives" was associated also with the advocacy of the use of "white coal." He pointed out, for example, that the undeveloped waterpower in New York State alone could cut down its coal consumption by two-thirds.

That the whole problem of conservation of energy and its sources was ever much in his thoughts was shown most strikingly about two years ago in an article published by *The Nation's Business,* when he went over all the ground briefly reviewed above, and discussed not only waterpower, not only coal, oil and natural gas, not only atomic energy, but the tides and winds; not only volcanoes, but the use of mercury in boilers, as a vapor instead of or with steam. He considered, too, solar boilers and that illimitable reservoir, solar heat, "of which we have as yet no practical clue as to how to use it."

A notable evidence of the man's bold sweep of imagination is seen in the pregnant utterance: "There may be, however, another way of utilizing solar energy. Means may be found to develop plants of unprecedentedly rapid growth. These plants will store away a very large amount of energy in a short time—just as the tree does in seventy-five or a hundred years. They will yeld up this energy as burning fuel. The result of this will be to make available tremendously increased quantities of fuel to take the place of our present forms of fuel when the latter are exhausted. This is something we may look forward to as within the realm of probability." If this great solar energy could thus be utilized, he concluded, "the arid regions of the United States alone would give about a hundred times as much solar energy as all the possible waterpower of the United States and all our present coal production combined." And then he passed on, to speculate how power thus generated might some day be transmitted like speech by radio today, without wires.

Day dreams these may have been, but here at least was a man with abnormal powers of insight and prophecy, a recognised leader in a great domain of new thought, and not a charlatan or prestidigtateur, as portrayed by Cowper:

"Like Katerfelto with his hair on end
At his own wonders wondering for his bread."

Elected president of the great national engineering society of his profession, the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, for 1901-2, he had bestowed upon him by Harvard University in 1903, the honorary degree of Master of Arts, when President Charles W. Eliot said: "I confer this degree upon you as the foremost electrical engineer in the United States and therefore in the world." That was far from his only distinction and recognition, but with such a fervent eulogy one may well pass on from electricity, except for later casual reference, to examine this unique being in various personal and social aspects that were an integral part of his makeup.

To the last he remained utterly unlike other men. While still, in daily intercourse, normal, sane and philosophical, he was unconventional to a startling degree, but without a shade of any insincere affectation or mannerisms. At the great Schenectady works he was allowed to do pretty much as he pleased. It would have been foolish to crowd him into work or ways he did not like. As a close friend, Professor Vladimir Karapetoff, of Cornell University, has said humorously: "He was allowed to try to generate electricity out of the square root of minus one."

As a worker he was ever as simply untutored as when he sat cross-legged on the draftsman's bench at Yonkers: "It was impossible at Schenectady to

make him do anything except what he wanted to do. He stayed away from the Works for days. He smoked in buildings in which the President himself did not dare to smoke. He used the clockwise rotation of vectors when everybody else was using the opposite rotation. He wore a soft shirt, and a shabby gray suit at formal functions, and he belonged to a political party which cussed his company and its principal consumers for years. His life was a shining example of a quiet, straight and unswerving path amidst the turmoil of conflicting passions, avarice, extravagance, curealls, pseudoscience, pseudo-patriotism, pseudolife itself."

Outside the office it was much the same. His modest Schenectady home, where he lived with J. R. Hayden, his legally adopted son and the Hayden family, was the kind of place one would associate with an ancient necromancer. He cultivated orchids, and cacti too, because they had more interesting personalities than roses. He loved such pets as two black crows, a couple of young alligators, and a Gila monster.

For a time his laboratory and the adjacent woods around the house were made ghastly with the green gleam of the mercury arc lamp. Soon after going to the quaint old Dutch town on the Mohawk to live and work, he built himself a little one-room shack beside that River, adding another cubicle there from time to

time, and there he disported to his heart's content in the long summer, with little regard for more than the minimum of clothes, haunting the water in a canoe that served as an alfresco study. If too hot he would take to the water, and float serenely around, ever with a cigar in his mouth.

There he loved to cook, specialties being a favorite meat loaf and peculiar pancakes, supplemented by milk chocolate, of which he was very fond. He rode a bicycle quite cleverly. Although he was the inventor of an electric automobile of considerable merit, he stuck to an old gasoline car, but that he seldom used, walking by preference. Wherever he was, in town or in camp, he read omnivorously, not merely scientific books, but fiction and "movie" magazines. After he had given a brilliant lecture one night before the New York Electrical Society, the writer accompanied him to the train and volunteered to buy some of the standard magazines. He objected at once and said he would infinitely prefer one or two cheap stories, thrillers and shockers. They unbent his mind —as they did that of Macaulay.

As a "Socialist", Steinmetz was not a little misunderstood. He belonged to the older Marxian school, though disliking and detesting the excesses that have reached their disastrous height in distraught Russia. But his sympathies were active toward progressive,

constructive effort. Believing, after the Great War, that America should aid in the reconstruction of Russia, he offered his services to Lenin early in 1922 for the technical work connected with the rehabilitation of industry. This offer was declined on the score of the absence of proper international relations, but later on Steinmetz became a member of the advisory committee for the Kuzbas Colony in Siberia. He realised that Americans as a people do not take at all kindly to the Socialism exemplified in European extremes, and it may be opined that he mellowed in later years; holding, in fact, that the ideal economic system is the monistic, unifying capital and labor completely in such a manner as is now resorted to in many great and small business organizations, a system which allows both labor and capital a direct share in the profits, and gives labor representation on the board of directors so as to participate also in the management.

Perhaps one little incident will illustrate his general economic point of view. The writer was one of those who helped to secure from Andrew Carnegie, the munificent gift of $1,500,000 for a building that should house in New York City the numerous engineering societies with their scattered headquarters there. The societies themselves had to raise over $640,000 for the land on which the building stands.

As chairman of the electrical division, the writer canvassed his own field successfully for the required one-third of the $640,000, but he appealed several times in vain to Steinmetz. He could not admit at all the desirability of such endowments in land and buildings, and held that many colleges had thus, because they had great riches, drifted far away from early educational ideals of plain living and high thinking—the ideals of a simple class with professor and pupil sitting on a mere roughhewn log. Though he was kindly in his frequent inquiry as to how the fund was getting along, he would never subscribe one cent.

Steinmetz was the furthest removed from a politician, but was not unwilling to run for political office if he could serve the Socialistic cause, even though he realised that defeat at the polls was invited, unavoidable. Thus he allowed himself to be named one year as State Engineer on the New York Socialist ticket, but in spite of the grotesque failure of that ticket as a whole, he "ran ahead" of it in a most significant manner. It was sympathetically summed up by the labor paper, the New York *Leader,* which said: "He had a vision of a world in which all hate had been eliminated, all senseless struggling for the mere means of making a living. He had a vision of a world in which mind had reduced drudgery to a minimum, and thus released energies and thoughts of men for human

betterment. He had a vision of a socialised world with the profit eliminated from industry. A strange figure, wistful, pathetic—that was Steinmetz. Deformed, an undersized, hunchbacked dwarf with the mind of an angel and the soul of a seer: that was Steinmetz."

It may be added here that Steinmetz took the deepest interest in educational work, serving at one time as President of the National Association of Corporation Schools; while for many years he was Professor of Electrophysics at Union College, Schenectady, from which he received an honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1903. It is surely not without significance that the first great Steinmetz utterance before the American Institute of Electrical Engineers was in 1892 when he enunciated the Law of Hysteresis. The second was his presidential address at Great Barrington, Mass., just ten years later, devoted almost entirely to education, when, iconoclastically, he assailed the prevalent methods of training men in college for the electrical profession.

Courses were overloaded, and it all simmered down to a mere memorizing of a lot of facts. But that was "an entirely useless waste of energy, since anything that is not perfectly understood, but merely memorized, will be forgotten in a short time if not continuously applied; and if continuously applied it

would be remembered anyway." He gave then his theory of education. "All the educational institution can do and should do is to fit the student to take up the practical work as efficiently as possible and to give him *a thorough understanding of the fundamental principles of electrical engineering and allied sciences,* and a *good knowledge of the methods of dealing with engineering problems.*" The italics are his own.

He loved specialization but was wary of it, as this pregnant quotation shows. He believed in the "open door" for the mind. The kaleidoscopic nature of electrical discovery and advance appealed to his democratic instincts and theories. "A specialist is just a tool," he said more than once. "He knows comparatively nothing except the thing he specialises on. And so the man who generalises is his master."

At another time, discussing the modus operandi of notable achievement, he said: "The scientific fact is that people are made out of the same kind of stuff: the problem is to find a way to release their creative energies." It is not strange that in view of the illimitable resources placed at his disposal freely, whether it be regarded as professional salary or allowance to be devoted to any work that challenged his spirit of inquiry—he did not mince words in asserting that the great modern industrial corporations offer

the best opportunities for development and advancement that are to be found today.

One is always interested in the religious beliefs of such a great thinker. Steinmetz was an active member of the All Souls Unitarian Church of Schenectady, and may be said to have formulated at least part of his creed before the Unitarian League there in a statement very much discussed at the time. "Science and religion are not necessarily incompatible, but are different and unrelated activities of the human mind. There can be no scientific foundation of religion; belief must always remain its foundation. The negative answer of science is not conclusive on the question of infinity in time and space, immortality and God; and the question is still as open as it ever was."

Steinmetz was very much interested in all the modern controversy as to whether the world gets any real good out of mechanical progress and inventions, most of all such as fall under the generic title of "electrical"—electric light, heat and power, wireless, telegraphy, telephony, electric traction. It irked him to have their benefit challenged, as when the historian Ferrero, asserted that we have simply become "slaves of our own tyrant inventions," or when Bergson arrived at the indisputable conclusion that it takes longer to "change ourselves than to change our tools."

The work of Steinmetz himself is brought to evalua-

tion in the reflection of Flinders Petrie: "The questions which arise from the fact that knowledge is growing faster than the moral sense, and of how to use knowledge, are almost insoluble. This is mainly a new difficulty; it was no doubt felt at an earlier time when the invention of bronze, and then iron, so largely helped destructiveness. Yet no one could put back the use of metals; and no one can put back the use of explosives and lethal gases, and the development of electricity, however much damage may be done." Steinmetz would not have worked for one second on electrical advances had he believed they only inflicted injury on mankind by their very perfection. There was no bolshevistic pessimism in this glowing outburst of aspiration: "We call this the Age of Electricity, but it isn't."

Steinmetz succumbed quite suddenly to the heart trouble brought on by fatigue of a long trip to the Pacific Coast. It had included practically all the large cities of the Rocky Mountain region and the Western Slope, and taken in connection with a convention of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers had involved a great deal of public speaking and participation in tiring exercises. His adopted family, the Haydens, were with him, which added greatly to his pleasure. Ever a passionate lover of nature, he was delighted with the scenery. On the

trains at night, after retiring he would be seen crouched up in his berth on his knees and elbows, in a characteristic attitude, gazing at the shadowy landscape. While in the Yosemite National Park, he spent hours on the porch of the hotel gazing silently at the headlong plunge of the beautiful cataract. But it was all fatiguing, and almost upon return in October, 1923, he was compelled against his strong will to give in. On the night before his death he read lying in bed, "The Physics of the Air," marking several passages that he wished Mr. Hayden to read with him at the first opportunity. Then cheerfully, after saying he would "soon be back at work" again, he slept peacefully through the night. In the morning, the nurse asked him if he would like Billy Hayden to bring breakfast. When the boy entered with the tray, the heroic little scientist was not found crouched over his bedtable on hands and knees as was his wont when at work, but lay stretched out. His labored breathing was still forever.

The whole country mourned the passing of its adopted son, whose whole career had been an exemplification of the truth that America is "another name for opportunity." From the old Germany of his boyhood, for which he ever entertained affection, came expressions of gratification that in America he had "found the congenial environment and support neces-

sary for genius like his to develop to the fullest benefit of mankind." From far off Japan came the beautiful and comprehensive encomium that might well serve for epitaph, "He spent his life serving humanity."

GUGLIELMO MARCONI

1874–

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY

GUGLIELMO MARCONI

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY

By RAYMOND FRANCIS YATES

FOLLOWING that "law of association" which psychologists tell us so much about, we cannot mention "wireless" without bringing to mind the name of Marconi. His name is affixed as permanently to this art as that of Bell is affixed to the telephone.

Like most of the great technical arts, communication by wireless developed in successive stages of growth. James Clerk Maxwell, the great Scottish physicist, was responsible for the first stage of development. He planted the germ of radio in the mind of the scientific world. This was in 1862. By cold mathematics, Maxwell reasoned that there should be such things as electric waves, but it was not until 1887 that Professor Heinrich Hertz, a twenty-seven year old physicist of the University of Bonn, pulled these waves out of Nature's secret archives and played with them in his laboratory as a child might play with a

new toy. This was the second phase of radio development.

Eight years later Marconi picked up the thread where Hertz and other experimenters had dropped it and commercialized radio through a series of brilliant experiments and epoch-making inventions which placed this new and powerful instrumentality at the disposal of civilization.

The story of Marconi's life is as colorful as that of any of our other great inventors, proving again that invention is one of the most romantic departments of human endeavor.

Marconi was the son of an Italian landed proprietor, and was born on his father's estate, Villa Griffone, near Bologna, on April 25, 1874. He is not a full-blooded Italian as many of his admirers believe. In fact his parentage might help to prove that hypothesis that genius resides in mixed bloods, for his mother was an Irish woman of gentle birth, being one of the famous Jamesons of Dublin, who were well-known whiskey distillers. Inventive talent and the capacity for inventive reasoning became evident in Marconi at the early age of five. He industriously gathered a quantity of berries from the garden of his father's estate, and, armed with a few simple kitchen utensils, he set out to manufacture a new kind of ink. His mother found him while he was making an effort to

perfect what was probably his first invention, with his little white suit spattered with the juices of the berries he had so laboriously obtained. This first effort to invent reaped only a true Irish scolding.

The boy's later life was filled with experiments along diversified lines, and everything that he did in this way had some outstanding feature of originality, indicative of a creative mind. As the years went on Marconi's mother and father, faced constantly with the efforts of their experimentally inclined son, decided upon a technical career for him. At the age of sixteen the strange forces of electricity and magnetism held his imagination captive and he specialized along this line, dropping all others.

Entering school at Leghorn, Marconi had the opportunity of studying under Professor Rosa, who took a great interest in the boy and did everything in his power to mother that spark of creative ability that he demonstrated so effectively. At the University of Bologna, Marconi had for his teacher Professor Righi, and it was while studying under this able man that he was inspired to make the experiments which eventually brought him great fame. At the time, Professor Righi was one of the leading students of the then struggling, infant art of wireless telegraphy. He was constantly experimenting with the waves and he made a number of important contributions to the lit-

erature of the science. Like Professor Rosa, Professor Righi took a special interest in Marconi because of his technical inclination and his persistent efforts to invent.

When Marconi reached the age of twenty-one years (in the year 1895) he set up some wireless apparatus of his own construction on his father's estate. In this apparatus he embodied all of the then known refinements of the art, including a modification of Branly's coherer, or detector, which was then the most sensitive indicator. Few of his original ideas were incorporated in this first mechanism. But, as the weeks flew by, Marconi's mastery over electricity began to assert itself and he invented important improvements very rapidly. The object of these experiments was that of improving Branly's coherer, for Marconi reasoned that if this crude device could be made more sensitive communication over greater distances would be possible. Following the instincts of a true inventor he selected the weakest part of the mechanism he was going to improve to work upon.

It is not to be inferred that Marconi was working on apparatus that had been in commercial use. At that time there was no possibility of using radio waves for dependable communication over distances that could not be measured in a few feet. Wireless had not outgrown its laboratory clothes.

After a few months of research, Marconi made, by a master stroke of genius, what was probably his greatest radio invention which supplied the turning point for the entire art. He found that by elevating one wire and making a ground connection with another, that he was able to increase the transmitting and receiving range of his apparatus by a considerable degree. This must be looked upon as a crowning achievement, and from that point on the development of wireless telegraphy progressed with amazing rapidity.

Marconi called this elevated piece of wire an antenna, naming it after a small loop of wire that Hertz had used in his experiments and to which he gave this name because of its resemblance to the antennae of the moth.

Unlike most inventors, Marconi was shrewd. In no period of his career did he resemble the sad spectacle of genius on a rampage. He always had both feet on the ground and never permitted himself to take those periodical trips into the clouds which are so characteristic of the less able type of genius. His business judgment was rare and every improvement that he made was instantly covered with a patent. His first and most important patent, which covered his improvement relating to an aerial and ground connection, was taken out in England in 1896. This procedure was soon duplicated in all of the important countries of

the world where the invention might be used to assist the affairs of commerce.

This aerial and ground connection of Marconi did not cause any great stir in the world of science, nor did it unduly excite the many other experimenters who were working within the art at the same time.

In 1896, Marconi decided upon a trip to England, and there he found a friend, adviser and sympathizer in the person of Sir William Preece, who was then engineer in chief of the British telegraph service. Preece was a serious experimenter who was at the time endeavoring to solve the problem of communication without wires in a manner totally different to that of Marconi. Preece was amazed at Marconi's success, since a distance of over one mile was readily covered by the apparatus that he had set up before the admiring eyes of his new found collaborator.

June fourth of that year, Preece gave a lecture at the Royal Institute of London and the degree of his enthusiasm for the work of young Marconi can be gauged from his utterances at that time. He said in part: "In July last, Mr. Marconi brought to England a new plan, utilizing electric or Hertzian waves of very high frequency. He has invented a new relay which, for sensitivity and delicacy exceeds all known electrical apparatus. The peculiarity of Marconi's system is that apart from the ordinary, connecting

wires of the apparatus, conductors of very moderate length only are needed and even these can be dispensed with if reflectors are used."

Marconi received so much sympathy and assistance in England that he decided to stay there, and he, of course, continued his experimental work and employed men to assist him that he might perfect his ideas more rapidly. Between the periods of 1896 and 1898 he worked like a Trojan. During this time he made experiments before English government engineers and they always resulted in encouragement, for both the English War and Post Office Departments were more than mildly interested in the outcome of any device that promised such great things as those promised by the early telegraph instruments.

Up to this time Marconi had worked in comparative quiet, proving that he was not a "newspaper engineer," as some of his noisy followers have been dubbed by their more conservative fellow workers. The world had simply not as yet recognized either Mr. Marconi or his work and the man made no effort to win recognition. He was too susceptible to the thrill of achievement for that. His insatiable desire to penetrate the mysteries of the art that he was trying to perfect occupied so much of his time and kept him so vitally interested that he did not care what the world thought of him.

In 1898, two complete radio stations, each station comprising a transmitter and a receiver, were established, one at the entrance of Poole Harbour near Bournmouth, and one on the Isle of Wight. The distance separating these stations was fifteen miles. Communication was carried on with ease. A year previous to this experiment (July 1897) Marconi demonstrated his apparatus to his own government at Spezzia. Dependable communication was established between two warships, separated by a distance of twelve miles. The Italian Government had been attracted by this success of Marconi's experiments in England, and, quite naturally, it made an effort to re-interest him in his native land.

The practical utilization of radio was again demonstrated by Marconi in 1898 when he used his apparatus, in a portable form, to report the events of the Kingston Regatta to a Dublin newspaper. It was at this time that Marconi made his debut to the public. "Who is this wizard?" the public asked. "Who annihilates space with such impunity?" From that time on Marconi became an international figure. He was a miracle worker and he shocked the imagination of the world as few other men ever shocked it.

Marconi's growing fame did not disturb his modesty in the least. He was the same quiet worker dedicating his every moment to the perfection of the radio art.

He was at the same time very democratic, as the men who worked with him in the early days will testify. When stations were being erected, Marconi would peel off his coat and for hours at a time would work with the engineers and laborers on the job. The fine Irish wit of his mother was always coming to the surface and he was usually the first to see and comment upon the humor of a situation.

Additions to the small chain of Marconi wireless telegraph stations were made and just before Easter in the year 1898, successful communication was established between South Foreland, England, and Wimereaux, France, a community near Boulogne. The distance separating the two equipments was thirty-two miles. This was the first time that the continent of Europe was connected with the British Isles by any form of communication aside from the cable.

The early Marconi system received much criticism from a certain group of English engineers who steadfastly claimed that Marconi's method was only practical for comparatively short distances and that only a few stations could be used in a certain zone because they would interfere with each other. This was before Marconi had placed in use any tuning equipment and it must be admitted that the criticisms of these engineers had foundation in fact. Marconi, however, was undismayed at the criticism for he knew very

well that it was justified, and furthermore, he had a well-formed idea of how he was going to overcome this weakness. He had never once forgotten the fundamental principles of electric waves as taught and demonstrated to him by Professor Righi.

As early as 1897, Marconi began experimenting on what he was pleased to call "syntonic wireless telegraphy." The purpose of these experiments was to provide wireless receivers with a means of tuning so that they could be adjusted to receive only a wave of a definite length. This would allow practically any number of stations to operate in a given area without interfering with each other. Marconi worked on this system for two years and many of his critics still maintained that he was off on a scientific goose-chase. These men were dumbfounded in 1899 when Marconi successfully and simultaneously received two different messages of two different wavelengths on one aerial. The experiment that brought this result about was no accident. It was the result of cold, scientific reasoning of a highly creative order. This was the second master stroke that brought the Marconi apparatus nearer the goal of perfection.

The success of this wireless telegraph system over appreciable distances gave Marconi still greater faith and he began to feel that there was practically no limit to the distance that might be covered. Through

his efforts a powerful radio transmitter was placed at Lizard in Cornwall, a distance of two hundred miles from the station on the Isle of Wight. This distance was six times greater than the long distance record held at the time. The gap was easily bridged and those engineers who had been incredulous began to recognize Marconi as a true genius. They even speculated on the possibility of covering still greater distances. Marconi, not only speculated but went straight ahead and placed in operation more powerful transmitters and more sensitive receivers.

A powerful equipment was placed at Poldhu on the Cornish Coast. After Marconi had personally supervised the tuning up of this station to make sure that it was releasing every possible ounce of energy into the ether of space, he packed up some of his most sensitive receiving equipment together with a number of man-carrying kites and small balloons, and on Nov. 27th, 1901, set sail for America, arriving at St. Johns, Newfoundland. Here he set up another station, the aerial being held aloft by the huge kites and tiny balloons. Marconi worked patiently for days tuning and adjusting his equipment in an effort to pick up the test signal "S" sent by the station at Poldhu, several thousand miles distant. If there is anything that demonstrates the faith of this man in his invention it was this experiment. Here he was with his receiving

equipment separated by a distance of nearly two thousand miles from the sending station and firm in his belief that his apparatus would be able to pick up their signals from the other side of the Atlantic.

His vigilance was rewarded on Wednesday, December 11th, 1901. The wheezy dots that went to make up the letter S were received and the reception of them continued until Saturday, December 14th, when Marconi sent the following cable to his colleagues at Poldhu:

> St. Johns, Newfoundland,
> Saturday, Dec. 14, 1901.
> Signals are being received. Weather makes continuous test very difficult. One balloon carried away yesterday.
>
> Marconi.

This announcement stirred the world and Marconi was the man of the hour in the art of communication at least. The great stretches of the Atlantic had been conquered without the use of a metallic connecting medium. The cable companies began to feel a trifle anxious over the successful outcome of this experiment and the Anglo-American Telegraph Company, a British concern, which had received a monopoly on communication between the British Isles and Newfoundland, lodged a strenuous complaint with the British Marconi Company of which Marconi himself was a heavy stockholder and which had been founded

a number of years previous to exploit his achievements. The following year the dispute was settled and permanent stations were placed at Poldhu, Cornwall, Eng., Cape Cod, Mass., and Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. Trans-Atlantic communication without wires was for the first time a daily occurrence.

During 1902, the Italian government made another effort to interest Marconi in the communication affairs of his native land. The warship Carlo-Alberto was provided with Marconi apparatus which was installed under the personal supervision of the inventor. During the trip Marconi succeeded in listening to Poldhu at Kronstadt, Russia, a distance of fifteen hundred miles. Proceeding to the Mediterranean Sea it was found that this station could be received from practically any place in this vast expanse of water. The Italian Minister of Marine was so pleased with the outcome of the experiments that he placed the warship entirely at Marconi's service. Later messages were received at Sydney Harbour, Sydney Bay in Nova Scotia.

In an effort to establish dependable commercial wireless communication between England and America, the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company of America, a new American venture, in which Marconi had a heavy interest, established in 1903 at South Wellfleet, Cape Cod, a very powerful transmitter. Roosevelt,

then president, was inspired to send the following message to the King of England:

"To His Majesty,
King Edward VII,
London.
In taking advantage of the wonderful triumph of scientific research and ingenuity which has been achieved in perfecting the system of wireless telegraphy, I express on behalf of the American people the most cordial greetings and good wishes to you and the people of the British Isles."

It must be admitted that Marconi never lacked funds necessary to carry on his experiments. He was more fortunate than many of the inventors who have given great things to the world only through personal sacrifice. However, all the money that Marconi spent would have availed him nothing had he not been equipped with inventive talent. Then, too, he never failed to take advantage of a new suggestion for an experiment which might prove practical.

The marine interests were of course greatly interested in wireless development for it held out a means of communication with ships at sea. It was especially regarded as a great boon to the safety of sea travel. In 1902 the *Philadelphia* was equipped with Marconi apparatus and the marine use of this new instrument grew rapidly after this installation. In 1904 the first sea news service was established on the Cunard liner

Campana. The passengers were daily provided with bulletins which gave them the gist of the world's news.

In 1905 Marconi had no less than three hundred patents standing as a monument to his hard work and genius. In the face of even this great accomplishment it can hardly be said that Marconi was received with open arms by most of his fellow scientists in America. He was referred to as a "foreigner" and his name was seldom mentioned without having the "Signor" emphasized. It was held that Marconi was not entitled to the credit he was receiving because of the work of the many other experimenters such as Sir Oliver Lodge, Captain Jackson, R. N., F. R. S., Popoff, Muirhead, Hozier-Brown. It is true that these men did make certain contributions to radio, but they had neither the foresight nor the daring of Marconi. They had not commercialized the art and therefore made few contributions to wireless telegraphy as we know it today.

In Germany, Marconi, came to be looked upon as a very dangerous Englishman, for he was providing the English war machine with an instrumentality that was not available to Germany. In an effort to stir up Washington the German minister wrote: "The efforts of the English Marconi Company to secure for its

system of wireless telegraphy a world monopoly becomes apparent."

Slaby, a German scientist, visited Marconi and remained in England as his official guest for several weeks. Marconi, always courteous and kindly toward his brother inventor, accorded him every convenience that he might thoroughly investigate the system as used in England at the time. Marconi made personal tours to the big stations with Slaby and took the greatest pains to point out the features of the different transmitters and receivers. Slaby took advantage of this kindness and made a very elaborate set of notes which enabled him, upon his return to Germany, to make arrangements with the German General Electric Company, for the experimental manufacture of radio telegraph equipment. Slaby's efforts failed miserably for the company could not meet the specifications of even the North German Lloyd whose contracts were filled by the Marconi interests.

Marconi is not only a great inventor, he has great business acumen, and as a result he has amassed a fortune and at the present time his business interests occupy most of his attention. However he has no business affiliations in America, for the interests of the Marconi Company, in which he was a leading spirit, were absorbed a few years ago by the Radio Corporation of America.

Marconi is conducting very few experiments these days. Practically nothing outside of the work that he is doing on his new directive means of communication with which he has been able to project waves in straight lines between two points, a feat heretofore impossible over great distances. Marconi lectured in this country on this subject in 1922 before a combined meeting of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers and the Institute of Radio Engineers.

A few years ago Marconi was the victim of an automobile accident in which he lost the sight of one of his eyes. Being of a sensitive nature he refused to make public appearances for a long time.

Many honors from governments, kings and scientific societies have been conferred upon Marconi in appreciation of his accomplishments. A general realization of the importance of his work began to take form as early as 1902, when he received the Freedom of the City of Rome, a privilege that has been extended to few men. In 1904 he was made a Senator of Italy and to this day he is often referred to as Senator Marconi. However, Marconi's political affiliations and activities were always subordinated to his purely scientific interests and consequently he does not hold a position of any great importance in the political history of his mother country.

During 1905, at a time when he was probably at the

height of his career and when the world was greatly excited over his inventions, he was created Chevalier of the Civil Order of Savoy. He was also decorated by the Czar with the Order of St. Anne. The King of Italy later honored him with Commander of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus and bestowed upon him the Grand Cross of the Order of the Crown of Italy. The Spanish sovereign also recognized him and gave to him the Grand Cross of the Order of Alphonso the Twelfth.

Marconi holds honorary membership in practically all of the great scientific societies of the world whose activities are related to physics. He holds the Albert Medal of the Royal Society of Arts, and in 1909 received the Nobel Prize for physics, probably the most coveted of all the awards for scientific endeavor and research.

Many institutions of learning have given degrees to Marconi including the honorary D.Sc. of Oxford University and the LL.D. of the University of Glasgow.

At no time in Marconi's career did he neglect the pleasures of life. He realized that hard work must be mixed with a certain amount of recreation. He is an ardent yachtsman, a cyclist, motorist and the thrill of the hunt has always appealed to him greatly.

The inventions of this great genius are so numerous and so recent that we have hardly had time to form

an estimate of the man himself but it must be agreed that he stands out as one of the intellectual giants of our age. Whether Marconi worked faster than other men or whether he was quicker to take advantage of the work of other investigators is immaterial. The fact remains that he displayed great ingenuity and inventive talent in making wireless telegraphy practical. The world owes him a great debt.

HENRY FORD

1863–

GENIUS IN INDUSTRY

HENRY FORD

GENIUS IN INDUSTRY

By WM. L. STIDGER

THE Civil War storm had broken.

Black clouds were overhead; the tempest was on; and in those ominous days Henry Ford was living his boyhood days in a little country town named Greenfield, Michigan.

July 30th, 1863 was the date of birth which means that Henry Ford is still in his intellectual prime; still the master-mind, still the genius of industry; still the conquering King of gigantic enterprises; and not an old man, as some think him to be.

Indeed, due to the fact that he has always been a careful liver; and due to the fact that he has never habitually overeaten, and indulged in the luxurious living that he could so well afford, and that rich men often fall into; Henry Ford is physically, one of the fittest men I have ever had personal contact with.

A broken watch started it all. When he was just a boy a neighbor brought him a watch to fix and he

liked to tinker with its innards. Mr. Ford was always interested in mechanics even as a boy. He fixed the watch so well that other neighbors brought theirs and he had all of the work that he wished to do, just fixing watches. In fact he did this with more enthusiasm than he attended to his studies in the Grammar School.

Two episodes stand out in his early boyhood which mark the way the wind was blowing for this boy wonder: the first being the watch episode, and the second being a trip to Detroit with his father one day, when they ran across a great road-engine chugging along the highway. This engine that propelled itself on wheels frightened his father's horses. They stopped the buggy and Henry begged to be allowed to examine that road-engine. His father stopped and the man who was running the engine let the boy climb up and manipulate the gears, and the lever. This was a high moment in young Henry Ford's life. He never forgot that day and he never forgot the feel of that lever in his long, slender hands; hands of a violinist rather than hands of a mechanic.

On April 11th, 1888, Henry Ford married Clara J. Bryant, of Greenfield, one of the village girls whom he had known from childhood, and whom he had secretely admired; and later whom he had courted like any other country boy. Mr. Ford still loves to get in an old fashioned sleigh and take Clara Bryant Ford

for a ride on a cold winter evening. He is old-fashioned enough for that.

Only this past winter Mr. Ford took his wife up to a little Michigan town where one of his old fiddling friends lives and they had an old time Round Dance until mid-night. Mr. Ford danced with his wife and the other women of the party to the music of that old time fiddler and when they were through the dance they all bundled into an old time sled, with sleigh bells ringing merrily and rode over the snow for two hours with the weather at zero. That is the kind of play that Henry Ford likes.

It is a common custom for Mr. Ford to invite a few of his old Dearborn neighbors in for a taffy pulling party. The Fords do not pay any attention at all to so-called social events and one may live in Detroit to the end of his days and never see the Ford name mentioned in the Society columns of the Sunday papers. They simply do not go in for that particular type of pleasure. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Ford care for what is commonly called "society." They are just old-fashioned Americans who love the old friends, and the old ways, and the old, simple things of American life.

Mr. Ford likes to take this same Clara Bryant Ford out on the little pond that they have in the Dearborn home and skate of an evening. Mr. Ford told me one day that Mrs. Ford was not what you might call a

perfect skater; that she had not learned to push herself forward as a good skater ought to know how to do; but that he enjoyed skating with her on the pond at home.

There is, in Dearborn an institution that few people know anything about which is another illustration of the fine Americanism of Henry Ford and that is what he calls his "Smithsonian Institute." Here is a Museum of Americanism.

This, to me, is the most characteristic institution that Mr. Ford owns. It is more representative of him than any other one thing.

In this museum you will find everything that he has collected has some marked American slant. There is nothing European in that museum although there must be ten thousand exhibits. He has a hobby for old things; old American things. He sends all over the world for things; but they must be American things. Not that he does not buy some things of the past which are not distinctly American. He does. But his chief interest lies in saving these historical American relics for posterity.

His purchase of the Wayside Inn at Sudbury, Mass., is characteristic of this spirit of Americanism in his soul. During the past year he has purchased and rehabilitated the Wayside Inn for the simple reason that he likes to preserve everything that is distinctly

American. He has had the Wayside Inn made over so that it is exactly as it was when Longfellow wrote "The Psalm of Life."

And incidentally it was his boyhood reading of "The Psalm of Life" that interested Henry Ford in the Wayside Inn. He never forgot those beautiful lines and he has never ceased to love this great New England poet of the common emotions of the every-day people of America.

The same thing that he has done with the Wayside Inn he has also done with the home of his own mother and father near Dearborn. He has had that old home rehabilitated and refurnished so that it is exactly as he remembers it when a boy. He sent all over America to get precisely the same kind of furnishing, the same kind of curtains, the same kind of a stove, and atmosphere that centered about that beloved home when he was a boy.

He even went so far as to have workmen dig up around the house to a depth of six feet to unearth the old spoons, cooking utensils, and other mementoes of his boyhood days and of his beloved parents and his old home. To me, this is one of the most pleasing things about the great automobile manufacturer; that overwhelming desire he has to keep alive the memories of the beautiful past.

In his little museum at Dearborn, Henry Ford has the evolution of dolls, from the types that the Pilgrim children played with up to the most modern dolls that talk and say mamma when you squeeze them. He has the evolution of lamps from the old Hurricane lamps, with a candle burning in them, up to the most modern electric lights. He has the evolution of melodeons, organs, horns, trumpets, and every type of a musical instrument. He has the evolution of stoves, from foot-warmers to electric stoves.

He was showing me an old-fashioned foot-warmer in this collection; the type they used to use in churches in the olden days when churches were not so warm as they are now, and, with a twinkle in his eyes, he said: "What we need in churches now are more heart-warmers in the pulpits rather than foot-warmers in the pews."

After marrying Clara Bryant, Henry Ford went straight on to Detroit to learn the mechanic's trade. He worked at the Edison Electric plant and from 1887 up to the time he organized the Ford Automobile Company he was the chief engineer of the Edison Company.

The Ford Motor Works have grown by leaps and bounds each year until it is now the largest automobile manufacturing company in the world, and is indeed world-wide in its scope. The Ford Company has

its plants now in nearly every country on the globe and in the new expansion programme, recently announced, the plan is to encircle the globe with manufacturing and assemblying plants. Such plants are already occupying the great industrial centers of the United States, including New York, Boston, Troy, Detroit, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Chicago, New Orleans, Los Angeles, with plans for a plant in San Francisco. Mr. Ford will build in China, India, and the Far East. He already has plants in Copenhagen, Ireland, England. Plans are on foot for plants in Mexico and South America.

In Detroit there are two great plants: the original plant at Highland Park, which is the show plant of the organization; the plant through which visitors are taken; and the River Rouge plant, which is between Detroit and Dearborn.

The Highland Park plant is stupendous in its size and terrifying to the visitor on his first visit. The great system of efficiency in manufacturing was worked out in this plant. Here it was that the first great strides of the industry were taken. Here it was that the great social plans were born. Here the famous assembly line was instituted and developed; that assembly line that attracted so much attention at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco during the exposition. This was one of the

most unique contributions to manufacturing efficiency. This is the famous line where the parts of a Ford car are assembled.

One man puts on the wheels to the body as it runs along a track, another man puts on the seat, another the battery, another the tires, another the wheel-steering gear, another the wind shield, another the top, and at the end of the line the last man shoots in a gallon of gasoline, jumps in and off goes the car on its own power, like a thing of magic. It is one of the most fascinating adventures in American industry to watch this process; as millions have watched it in the last ten years. The Ford Company encourages visitors to the Highland Park plant and thousands take advantage of this free service every week. They are taken through the plant by specially trained guides.

But the great River Rouge plant makes the Highland Park plant look like a play-house. It is here, close to his Dearborn home, close to his boyhood play-place that Mr. Ford is working out his biggest plans.

Along the winding River Rouge Henry Ford played as a boy. He knows every inch of its way. He has swum in its deep holes in summer time, hunted through the woods that flank its winding way, skated on its ice-bound surface in the winter. He has walked across the Indian trails that run along the River Rouge from earliest boyhood days and now he is build-

ing his most stupendous plants within sight of his own home and within sight of his birth-place.

One day when I visited this great plant I saw four great piles of raw material which had just been dumped from Mr. Ford's own ships. Recently he has dredged the River Rouge and has made it deep enough so that his own ships may come up to within a few hundred feet of his River Rouge plant.

It is a striking cycle that he works out in this plant. From his own coal fields in West Virginia and Kentucky, he hauls his own coal, over his own railroad, in his own specially made coal-cars, and in his own ships, and dumps his own coal in great piles back of the blast furnace at the River Rouge.

Second: he takes his own cars, and his own ships and hauls his own iron ore from his own mines up at Iron Mountain, Mich., and he dumps these huge piles of iron ore back of the blast furnace at the River Rouge.

Third: he cuts his own timber from his own forests up in Michigan; hauls it in his own ships and over his own roads, in his own cars and dumps it in great stacks back of the blast furnace at the River Rouge.

I stood on the top of the blast furnace, one winter's day with Edwin Markham, the great American poet, and to our back we saw four great piles of raw material: iron ore, limestone, coal, and lumber.

Turning around we could see, about a half a mile away finished tractors running out of the factory on their own wheels and under their own power. From where we stood we could see the miracle under our very eyes.

They dumped that raw material into the blast furnace. It was melted into flowing metal by direct process. That flowing metal was run in streams into the foundry which was just below us and in front of us. There it was moulded into engines. These, in turn were shot into the tractor factory and within forty-eight hours those four piles of raw material were converted into tractors by the thousands.

"Talk about the miracle of the loaves and fishes," said Mr. Markham, the poet, "this is more of a miracle than that. This is the great industrial miracle of all time going on before our very eyes this day as we look down upon it."

To give my readers some idea of the comparative size of the new River Rouge plant with the original Highland Park plant, which most visitors see when they come to Detroit, I will say that there is one great electric dynamo in the River Rouge plant which will generate more power than all of the Highland Park plant put together, and, there are to be eight or ten of these dynamos in the River Rouge plant when it is completed.

Mr. Ford has been a leader, not only in industrial efficiency, but he has also been a leader in industrial justice.

It was he who startled the world, first of all, by announcing a Profit-Sharing Plan in 1914 which meant a distribution of from ten to thirty million dollars annually among his employees, whom he calls his "pardners" and will have none other term applied to them. Mr. Ford is a great Democratic industrial brother at heart. He has lead the world in industrial justice.

"People before profits" is the motto of his organization. He has never announced himself in favor of "Industrial Democracy" but he is not far from this social millenium when he looks upon his workers as his "pardners" and when he insists upon their receiving a fair share of the income of the company.

His industrial bank system is another expression of industrial justice which has interested the industrial world. He allows his employees to deposit a certain percentage of their wages on every pay day in a bank. They are given certificates of deposit. They have always received at least ten percent on their deposits and sometimes as high as fifteen.

His minimum wage scale of five dollars a day when it was announced was considered revolutionary but to-day many of the great industrial plants have fol-

lowed his leadership. Nobody doubts that Henry Ford has lifted the standards of living 90 percent since he entered the industrial world with his humane ideas about a fair and a living wage. The rest of the world has had to follow.

A good illustration of this is his recent purchase of a glass plant in Pittsburgh.

Immediately upon purchasing this plant he announced that Ford wages would go into operation at once. There was consternation in industrial circles in the Pittsburgh area, especially in the glass manufacturing end of it. This meant a sudden leap upward of ninety percent in the wage scale over what was being paid at that time. It took the glass industry in the Pittsburgh area a long time to adjust itself to this living wage scale.

Mr. Ford said to me at that time: "I am merely putting the regular Ford wages into operation. I have no intention of doing anything revolutionary. I am not trying to create a sensation."

"Start where you stand!" is one of Mr. Ford's famous sentences.

He was talking to an ex-convict when he said it. The convict had come to him for work and was speaking of his past, and of how he wanted to make good. Mr. Ford was not interested in his past. He was only interested in the man's future and he said: "I don't

care about your past. I don't even care about your criminal record. Start where you stand!"

That is the spirit of the Ford industry.

There is a place for two thousand tuberculars, with well lighted, well ventilated rooms and a special menu. There is a place for the blind and they receive as much wages as a man who can see. There is a place for men who have lost their arms, their legs, and their hands. There is a place for the widow woman who has to stay at home and care for her children. Work is carried to her home so that she can work there and not have to go to the factories.

There is a place for the halt, the maimed, the blind, the ex-convict, the sick, and the widow.

I have said, and I say again, that Mr. Ford is doing more to carry Christian principles into industry than any other large industrial executive in America. He is doing all that the Church Federation in the social creed of the churches asks for except industrial democracy and he is going a long way in that direction.

"A chance but no charity," is another one of his mottoes which is deeply Christian and which is greatly misunderstood. He does not give much money as an outright gift; but he believes in giving every man a chance to work out his own salvation.

"What are you going to do with your money, Mr. Ford?" I asked him, at the suggestion of the late Mr. Siddal of the *American Magazine*.

"I care nothing for money as such. It is merely the driving shaft of our industry. I want to build more factories so that more and more people can get a chance to work for a living wage and work out their own salvation. That's what I am going to do with my money. I am going to put it back into the industry in order to give more people a chance for independence and hope."

Mr. Ford is a professed Christian. He likes to hear a sermon. He says: "I like to hear anybody preach. It always helps me. I need it."

He believes in the Bible. He has one in every room in his home. He reads it. He once took a pledge with President Wilson to read the Bible every day and I believe that he still does it.

He believes that the Bible ought to be put back into the public schools and that it ought to be read there every day. He says: "All of the sense of justice and right that I have, I got out of the Bible, as it was being read in the schools when I was a boy."

He believes in the church and all that the church stands for. He believes in God and Christ, and says that the Sermon on the Mount is the covenant of his business.

He said to me one day: "Take the Sermon on the Mount and you can set it down in industry any place

and it will work. You don't have to lead up to it. It will work at once."

Mr. Ford is a member of the Episcopal Church although he does not attend regularly. He is a member of the Masonic Lodge and his name is enrolled and his dues kept paid in the Palestine Lodge, in Detroit, which is the largest Masonic Lodge in the world.

One day when I had taken Mr. Edwin Markham to see Mr. Ford and we had spent the day with the great industrial leader Mr. Ford sent for Markham's poems and the poet read all afternoon as Mr. Ford listened with a great deal of genuine interest. He knew Mr. Markham's poems and he knew where to find them. Those who think that Mr. Ford is illiterate or that he does not read are simply mistaken; that is all.

He reads constantly and he has, in addition to his library, his own favorite little reading table whereon he keeps books that he is in the process of reading; and not a day goes by that he does not read something.

Emerson is his favorite writer and you cannot talk with him very long that you do not hear talk of Emerson; and that you do not hear the ring of that valiant soul re-echoed in the spirit of Mr. Ford.

"Trust thyself! Every heart vibrates to that iron string," is one of his favorite Emerson quotations.

Like Lincoln, he is a man of few books; and those good ones.

After we had spent the day visiting with Mr. Ford and were driving away from the Dearborn office I said to Mr. Markham: "Well, Mr. Markham, now that you have studied Mr. Ford at close range what do you think of him?"

"He is the nearest like Lincoln of any man that we now have in American public life."

Mr. Ford loves his home and his son Edsel, and his grandchildren more than anything on earth. He seldom spends an evening away from his home. Although the richest man on earth and the richest man who ever was on earth he has never had any of the scandals of the average rich to spot his white record of personal decency and purity. Possibly once a week he is away from his Dearborn home in the evening. He seldom attends the theatre and his chief recreation is that of having his neighbors in for an evening's play.

He enjoys the radio and has built himself one of the best in America. He also has a great sending station, and only recently he himself was heard in England when he talked over his own radio.

Mr. Ford walks regularly for exercise and seems to be immune to the ordinary ills of mankind. In bitterly cold weather, when I was bundled up to the hilt with overshoes, heavy coat, and hat Mr. Ford walked from his office to the little Round Table Lunch

Room across from the Dearborn office without hat, overcoat or overshoes. He steps lightly and has a stride like a panther when he comes into a room. He glides rather than walks. He has a twinkle in his eyes most of the time but when he is thinking about some problem or when he is worried his face sets in an inscrutable mask; like the face of a gambler. Then his face is unlighted. But generally it is animated and lighted. He is good to look at when his eyes twinkle.

He loves wild things and has built all over his farm bird houses. He watches the birds come back each Spring and knows birds as well as his old friend John Burroughs used to know them. One Spring he told me from time to time what birds had come back from the south. He has hundreds of deer on his own place.

He walks a lot and keeps in the best of health, as he claims, because he does not overload his stomach.

One of his rich friends was recently chiding him about being so slim. That rich friend said: "What's the matter, Mr. Ford, are you too stingy to eat enough to keep you fat?"

Mr. Ford said: "I have a big hospital in Detroit. I never go there except to see the doctors carve up fat, over-fed fellows like you."

Mr. Ford says of the Peace Ship: "At least I tried

to do something to bring about Peace and some of you clergymen didn't even try."

"I look forward to the future with hope and optimism and confidence. I am an optimist at heart. I believe 'that to-day is better than yesterday,' as some writer has said, 'and that to-morrow will be better than to-day.'"

That about sums up Mr. Ford's spirit. He is an optimist but a sane and a practical one.

Politically Mr. Ford has always been a power in Michigan. The famous Newbury race was made at the solicitation of President Wilson, or Mr. Ford would never have consented to run. That case has gone down in history and Mr. Newbury's repudiation has vindicated Mr. Ford in every way.

The three presidents who have influenced American life in recent years—Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and President Calvin Coolidge—have been glad of Mr. Ford's friendship and advice. Roosevelt sought Ford out when he came to Detroit. At that time he said to a few friends in the Detroit Athletic Club: "A formidable candidate for the Presidency in 1924 will be your fellow-townsman Henry Ford." Mr. Ford refused to see ex-President Roosevelt at that time because he did not want to go to the Detroit Athletic Club. He said that he would be glad to see him at his own home or at the plant. It is too bad

that these two great men did not meet. President Harding welcomed Mr. Ford at the White House several times, and already he has been a welcome visitor at the White House during President Coolidge's short time in the office.

Mr. Ford, when he withdrew his name from use as a possible candidate for the Presidency and said that he was in favor of Coolidge if he would enforce the Prohibition Laws, gave the President a great lift. That cleared away one serious obstacle from his possible re-election. I had the honor to get from Mr. Ford the interview in which he made this announcement that if Coolidge would enforce the Prohibition Law he would be for him and would withdraw his own name from consideration.

The truth of the matter is that Mr. Ford never seriously considered the Presidency. Mrs. Ford was always opposed to the idea and Mr. Ford is greatly influenced by his wife's desires. Anybody who knows him knows that.

From the very beginning I believed him when he said that he would not step across the street—and one time when he said that he would not step from a bare place on his office floor to the rug two feet away—to be the King of England or the President of the United States.

He was grateful to me for believing him when he said that he did not want to be a candidate for the Presidency. Most reporters and writers thought that he was merely bluffing; that he was playing politics. I believed him when he said that he would not be a candidate and so stated in my book on Mr. Ford; a statement that stands as a record of what I say; for the book was published long before Mr. Ford withdrew his name definitely.

However, in spite of the fact that he withdrew his name I believe that he could have been elected by a large majority if either party had selected him as a candidate; and more than that, I believe that he would make a strong President of the United States; a Lincoln type of a President in that he would not work by traditions nor by rote and rule; but that he would do the common-sense things in a horse-sense way. That is the way he has run everything that he has touched with the genius of his mind and hand.

I want to say one further word; now that the Teapot Dome scandal has touched all parties; and that is, that it is not an entire impossibility; that one of the two parties may be compelled to take Mr. Ford for its candidate in order to have a sure thing at the elections.

Mr. Ford does not care. He would not sanction my saying what I have about him politically. He has

such a position of influence and power that he is, perhaps more powerful as a private citizen than he would be as president. Already Auther Brisbane suggests that Mr. Ford be selected as one of Mr. Coolidge's advisers. In a flurry of lists of five of the greatest men in America to-day several have selected Mr. Ford in that list. A great Swedish scientist names him as our greatest American, and Dr. Leroy Burton, President of Michigan University, names him as one of the five greatest men of this age.

The Ford Hospital is, perhaps the finest expression of Mr. Ford's best self; his idealism. The *New Republic* calls Mr. Ford a "Hard-boiled Idealist"; and I think that I know what that paper means. It means that he is an idealist but that he knows what he is doing. He is not a silly sentimentalist; but in his idealism he insists upon getting results; just as he does in his business ventures.

The Ford Hospital was started as a public subscription enterprise. Mr. Ford made a generous subscription toward it. Those who were building it got up against it financially and came to him again. Then Mr. Ford said: "I'll take the whole thing over. I'll pay off those who have already subscribed. I'll build the hospital myself."

To date he has put about twelve million dollars in this great hospital; perhaps the best equipped hos-

pital on earth at the present time. He is now, as this sketch is written, adding to this already generous venture, another million and a half dollars for a nurse's home for the hospital.

The hospital is what is called a "closed hospital," which means that doctors not on the regular staff are not permitted to operate in the hospital. He has a large staff of highly paid experts and they do all of the work, but in co-operation with the family physician and giving him access to all records and facts.

Mr. Ford says that he built the hospital for the common, every-day middle-class American. He says that the very rich can buy the best hospital service because they have money; and that the very poor are well cared for in the average American city by charity; but that the middle-class man, the small home-owner, the clerk, the small business man, the professional man who has not become rich, is hard pressed. It takes the savings of a life time for him if he has to go through an operation. It is for the middle group that Mr. Ford has built the hospital and the service in that hospital is given at cost. Even now, in the early stages of its development I have the authority of hundreds of friends who have gone there; and the authority of no less a personage than James Oliver Curwood, for the statement that the

costs of this hospital treatment are at least half what he has experienced elsewhere.

The Henry Ford Hospital is, as I have said, the flower of Mr. Ford's practical kind of religion.

It is his way of giving a man a chance but not charity. He says that a sick man has no chance. A well man can take care of himself. Even convalescents in this hospital, if they are poor and are worrying about money are given a chance to work during convalescence. The Ford Company sends nuts and bolts to the hospital, give the patient a black rubber cloth to go over his bed and let him sort and fit nuts and bolts while he gets well. The patients are paid five dollars a day for this service and they have contented minds while they are getting well because they are self-supporting.

Mr. Ford's religion and philanthropy are sane and lead to a self-respecting recipient. The Ford Hospital is a working out of his finest ideas and ideals. It sums up the man and no person has a right to judge Mr. Ford without taking the Ford Hospital into the considerations that form such judgment.

Mr. Ford's past has been full of romance, adventure and achievement; his present is brimming over with it. No man is more written about, as the clipping bureaus prove; and no man on earth is more interesting to humanity. His little office at Dearborn

is the mecca of the great men of the earth. His guest book reads like a roster of the great of the earth. Great authors, dramatists, Kings, Bishops, financial leaders, industrial giants, poets, and statesmen make a beaten footpath to his door.

His future, if he lives for ten years longer; as I believe he will; and beyond that; will be even more filled with romance and achievement than his past. His plans for a world-industry are ripe and are already in process of fulfillment. He already controls his own iron mines, coal mines, forests, his own water-power, his own clay beds for aluminum, his own slate mines, his own glass factories, his own cloth mills; and is entirely independent of others for both raw materials and parts. He is experimenting on his own rubber for tires. He is planning to belt the earth with Ford factories just as he has already belted the earth with his cars.

LEE DE FOREST

1873–

RADIO BROADCASTING

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RADIO BROADCASTING

By HARRY A. STEWART

IN 1901, when Sir Thomas Lipton's "Shamrock II" was defeated for the "America" cup by the "Columbia," off Sandy Hook, the racing yachts were followed over the course by a small tug. It went almost unnoticed in the crowd of vessels, yet a close observer might have seen that it was different from most of the tugs of those days. Two stubby masts had been erected fore and aft, and between them swung a network of copper wires.

In the cabin, over a table covered with queer instruments, hung a slender, anxious young man with pallid, sunken cheeks. As he made adjustments here and there in the apparatus he swayed with weakness. But when, under his manipulation, the strange instruments occasionally spat forth crackles of electric flame, his face lighted up for a moment.

As the racers jockeyed for position on the starting line, an expert telegraph operator took his place at

the table and put his own hand on the key. The captain of the tug, from his vantage point in the wheelhouse, called down to him the varying progress of the race. Again the sparks flashed from the instruments.

The young man who hovered over the apparatus was Lee DeForest. He had invented a wireless transmitting and receiving set that worked—part of the time—in his two-dollars-a-week room in Chicago. For two years he had spent all of his spare time—and most of his salary of eight dollars a week—experimenting with it. He had almost starved to save money to buy materials for working out his idea. And he felt sure that he had perfected a reliable wireless telegraph instrument.

It occurred to him that if he could report the international yacht races by wireless the publicity would help him interest capital in his invention. So he borrowed money and hurried to New York. There he found that Marconi had had the same idea, and had it first. The Associated Press, the great news-disseminating agency, had arranged with Marconi to report the races from a tug equipped with his apparatus. De Forest ran across the manager of another news-gathering syndicate and promptly proposed to report the yacht races by "wireless" for him. The

offer was snapped up and a tug placed at De Forest's disposal.

"I worked harder then than I ever did in my life before or since," De Forest told me. "First, I got hold of a little shop over in Jersey City, where my assistant and I assembled the set. Then we took it down and installed it on the tug. But when we tested it it wouldn't work! We took it back to the shop, labored over it far into the night, carried it to the tug next morning—and again the test failed.

"This performance went on day after day. Continually new defects appeared. The time for preparation was so short that if McKinley's assassination had not delayed the races for several weeks we never could have got ready in time. But we finally assembled our apparatus, and the receiving set was installed in the ship news reporting station at Sandy Hook, where arrangements were made to relay the news to New York by wire as fast as we sent it in.

"At that critical moment I became ill. I had some sort of fever that looked very much like typhoid, and the doctors said I would have to go to the hospital and stay there if I wanted to get well. I went to the hospital—but I couldn't stay. It seemed to me that my whole destiny depended on my success in reporting the yacht races. For years I had worked hard

for this chance. I couldn't stay in bed, now that the chance had come. So I went back to the tug."

In those days there was no such thing as "tuning" apparatus. The only two transmitters in America were those operated by De Forest and Marconi. They didn't know that the transmitters, working at the same time, would "jam" each other.

At the start of the first race the transmitter used by De Forest, a complicated affair, succumbed to the damp, salt air and broke down permanently. He substituted a crude spark coil. But when his operator tried to send the racing news, Marconi's man, on the other tug, was working at the same time, and all that the receiving station got was a confused jumble of signals impossible to interpret. Nothing much got through.

When the race was over the tug swung up to the pier at Sandy Hook, De Forest leaped over the bulwarks and ran to the receiving station.

"Did you get it all right?" he cried.

The syndicate manager shook his head. "Nothing at all came through," he said.

De Forest stared at him for a moment, and then collapsed. The shock of disappointment, in his weakened state, almost knocked him out. But after a rest of three weeks he began to recover.

As his strength returned there came back with it the old determination to make a wireless set that would *work*. He got out of bed and went back to the shop. And there he continued the experiments which were destined to result in one of the most important inventions of the past fifty years.

That incident is typical of the life of Lee De Forest, the inventor of the wonderful "audion" vacuum tube which has made radio, as it is today, possible. Talking with him in his big studio-laboratory in New York, it was hard for me to realize that only a few years ago he was engaged in a never-ceasing struggle and meeting only with defeat. During the early part of his career, under the handicaps of poverty and unbelief, he worked out his ideas to a successful conclusion, using each failure as a stepping stone. Later, when he had perfected his invention, he had to fight just as hard to make people *believe* in it.

Now, twenty-three years after he started the experiments that led to the discovery of the audion vacuum tube, most of the radio receiving sets in the United States—and the number of them is estimated at more than three million—are operated with these tubes. They have made broadcasting possible.

Every radio fan knows what a vital part of his set the vacuum tube is. But not everyone knows that these tubes are used in dozens of other ways. By

means of them sound can be amplified, or magnified. A whisper can be changed to a roar.

Transcontinental wire telephony was made possible by means of this tube. With the aid of the induction coil invented by Professor Michael Pupin, of Columbia, the human voice would carry by telephone for several hundred miles, but not the three thousand miles from New York to San Francisco! It was only by using the DeForest amplifiers that the first coast-to-coast telephone conversation was held, in January, 1915.

By means of these tubes President Harding's voice was magnified more than a million times when he made his inaugural address to an audience of a hundred thousand persons; yet he did not have to speak above an ordinary tone.

The tubes aid hearing by the deaf, they amplify the sound of the heart for surgeons, and when used with the radio compass, they help ships to find their way through the fog. By means of the tubes a ship can follow a charged wire down a winding channel which has no buoys or markers. In addition to all these things, the tubes will generate power.

De Forest was born in 1873, in Council Bluffs, Iowa, where his father was a Congregational minister. Like most ministers, he had no income except his small salary. When De Forest was six years old the family

moved to Muscatine, Iowa; where he first went to school. In the early eighties his father was sent to Talladega, Alabama, to take charge of a mission school for educating the negroes.

He had always hoped that his son would follow him in the ministry, but De Forest wanted to be a mechanical engineer. Up to this time he had given no indication of being an electrical genius; but he began to show indications of his enormous capability for study. Night after night his father had to drag the boy from his books and send him to bed.

In 1891, when he was eighteen years old, he made up his mind to go to a preparatory school to fit himself for the school of mechanical engineering at Yale. His father had no funds with which to finance his education, so the boy had to earn his own way. He did this by working as a book agent.

In the fall of 1893 he entered Yale for the three-year course in mechanical engineering, was graduated in 1896, and stayed three years more for post-graduate work, leaving Yale in 1899 with the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. During all that time he had paid his way by mowing lawns, waiting on tables, and taking care of furnaces. One summer he worked as a waiter in a hotel on Block Island.

His father died in 1896, leaving an estate barely sufficient for the needs of his mother; and after De

Forest's graduation, in 1899, he went to Chicago and got a job testing and assembling dynamos for the Western Electric Company, at eight dollars a week.

It is hard now to realize that less than twenty-five years ago radio was just beginning. Marconi had succeeded in receiving wireless signals with only fair reliability by using his "coherer." This was a tube full of silver filings. When a wireless wave struck it, the filings were attracted to one another and clung closer together, and a current of electricity could be passed through them.

While he was at Yale, De Forest had become interested in wireless and believed that he would work out a better detector than the one Marconi then had. In Chicago he paid two dollars a week for a room, which he shared with two other men; his meals cost only from fifteen to twenty-five cents each, and the little he could save out of his eight-dollar salary went on materials for experimenting. He spent his evenings in his room under the gaslight, filing, tapping, and testing his detector.

Late one night, in the fall of 1900, he had put his table directly under the gaslight so that he could see better. The gas jet was fitted with a Welsbach mantle burner. Over in a closet, eight feet from the table, he had a spark coil. By pulling a string he could

turn the coil on and off. The coil generated waves, for which he listened in his detector on the table.

He was bothered, however, by periodical dimmings of the gaslight. And after a while he noticed that whenever the spark coil was working the gaslight grew dim. This interested him so much that he temporarily abandoned his experiment in order to observe the curious behavior of the gaslight. Again and again he pulled the string attached to the coil; and every time the spark coil buzzed, the light grew dim! When the coil stopped, the light blazed up again.

For several days, during every minute of his spare time, he studied the phenomenon of the gaslight which responded to radio waves, trying to discover why it dimmed and brightened. Then he stumbled on a disheartening fact: When the closet door was *closed* the light no longer responded. Experimenting further he found that the gas flame was responding to the *sound* of the coil, and not to its electrical waves.

Philosophically, De Forest swallowed his disappointment, and went back to his original experimenting. For the time being, he tried to drop the idea in regard to the gas light, but it stuck in his mind. While he worked on his detector, it recurred to him again and again. He had a "hunch" that heated gas might offer a better solution of the problem of wireless

detection than anything else. His hunch was right, but it was not until *five years* later that he was able to get together the few dollars necessary for him to work out his idea. The vacuum tube was the result.

During the Chicago period the most money that De Forest earned was ten dollars a week. In off hours he worked as an assistant in the laboratory of the Armour Institute. For this he received no pay, but he was allowed the use of the laboratory. This was some help to him, but not much. He was doing pioneer work, and the laboratories of those days contained little that could help him. Some idea of his struggles at this time is found in a letter he wrote to a friend.

"It's a great life I'm leading now," he wrote. "Here, one does not lose caste by leaving off his cuffs, by wearing a collar for a week, or a shirt even longer. If you go unshaved, you simply pass for a 'single taxer' and are given free range at the lunch counter. My pants are getting thinner every day, and my coat is perfumed with fried potatoes of the Comet lunch-room. Sometimes I have ten cents in hand, sometimes twice that sum."

In 1901, when he thought he had his apparatus fairly well perfected, came the international yacht races, bringing—as it then seemed—the failure of all his hopes. But the experience was of some help to

him, and a former classmate invested a thousand dollars, for which he received one third of the stock of the newly incorporated De Forest Wireless Telegraph Company. A few years ago, when De Forest sold his patent rights and licenses, a one-third interest was worth $300,000.

He was sure, by now, that he had reached his goal, and that it only remained to get capital enough to put his invention on the market. The classmate, who was now a one-third owner of the business, suggested that this might be accomplished more easily if demonstrating stations were put up, so that prospective investors could see for themselves the practical value of wireless. De Forest accordingly built a transmitting set in the shop in Jersey City, while his friend secured permission to install the receiving station in the dome of the Manhattan Life Building, in New York.

The attempt added another failure to De Forest's long list. The system refused to work! The signals did not come through! It was months before De Forest learned enough of radio to know why he had failed. The great dome, covered with *copper*, absorbed the energy of the signals. There was nothing left for the receiver.

A short time later the transmitting station was moved to State Street, in New York, with the receiving station in the old Castleton Hotel, on Staten

Island. This time conditions were more favorable, and the apparatus performed better.

At that time the late George Westinghouse was the outstanding figure in the electrical world. He had used the immense fortune derived from his invention of the air brake to found the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, one of the largest corporations in its field.

Two of De Forest's associates had tried to interest Westinghouse in wireless telegraphy, and De Forest awaited his visit with intense anxiety.

"Westinghouse was a big man, with great natural dignity of manner," De Forest told me. "I was so much in awe of him that, beyond shaking hands and mumbling a few confused words, I said *nothing* to him the whole time he was in the station.

"We sent several messages to the Staten Island receiving station, and the tests were fairly successful.

"Westinghouse maintained noncommittal silence throughout the demonstration and when we had finished he simply left, without saying anything, one way or the other. Finally, however, he sent me his verdict: He was not interested!"

Nineteen years later the Westinghouse company opened broadcasting station KDKA, the first of the big Eastern stations. This marked the beginning of the immense interest which has, in a little more than

two years, swept the country from end to end and made the radio receiving set known to millions.

After his failure to interest Westinghouse, De Forest continued to perfect his apparatus. His greatest difficulty now was in convincing people that wireless was anything more than an interesting scientific toy.

In January, 1904, he set up two transmitting stations at the Louisiana Purchase Centennial Exposition, at St. Louis, with receiving stations at Chicago and Springfield, Illinois. These were tested out by the Jury of Awards, with every precaution against fraud. Everything worked perfectly. It was the longest distance that messages ever had been transmitted over land by wireless, up to that time. De Forest sent messages for people who had friends in Springfield and Chicago, and these messages were exhibited as great curiosities.

At the end of the exposition he was awarded the gold medal, diploma, and the first prize over two competitors, Marconi and the German Telefunken system.

All this time he never had lost sight of his old idea of a "heated gas" detector. And now, for the first time, he was able to go ahead with his experiments on a substantial scale. He soon reached the conclusion that although a flame detector, on the order of the

Welsbach burner, was perfectly possible, it was impractical because of the difficulty of carrying a supply of gas; so he turned to the idea of heating the gas in a closed glass tube by means of an electric filament. In 1905 he discovered the principle of the "audion" vacuum tube that is in general use to-day. It was patented in 1907.

In 1906, he began working on the idea of transmitting the voice by wireless. It had been discovered that the flame of an arc light could be used to produce radio waves, and that these waves would carry the human voice.

In that year the yacht "Thelma," belonging to W. R. Huntington, of Elyria, Ohio, was equipped with a radiophone for the purpose of reporting the yacht races at Put-in-Bay on the Great Lakes. It was the first vessel to be thus equipped. The transmission of voice and phonograph music was entirely successful, and this was the end of skepticism as to the practicability and value of radio. The successful equipment of the "Thelma" brought an order from Uncle Sam to install radiophones on the ships of the Atlantic Squadron, then under the command of Admiral "Fighting Bob" Evans.

Most of the millions of broadcast listeners in the United States heard broadcasting for the first time in 1921. Few had heard it, or even heard *of* it, before

then. And yet the first broadcasting was done thirteen years before that time in De Forest's experimental studio in New York. The first artist to sing over the radiophone in De Forest's laboratory to an unseen audience was Mme. Mazarin, Oscar Hammerstein's dramatic soprano. That was in 1908. Appropriately enough, she had been brought to New York to create the title rôle in the new opera, "Elektra." As far as is known, the audience was confined to one little group of listeners in Newark, New Jersey, and to ships in the harbor.

There were only a few receiving sets in the United States then, outside of the government stations. No one suspected the immense possibilities of profit broadcasting would bring to the manufacturers of instruments. Far from being welcomed, the new art met with opposition. The newspapers commented languidly on it, and government and commercial station operators not only did not care for the music, but objected fiercely to the "jamming" of their signals.

Within the past two years there have been thousands of requests from broadcast fans all over the country for opera broadcast from the famous Metropolitan Opera House, New York. For various reasons these requests have been refused. Yet, as far back as the winter of 1908-1909 an installation was made by De Forest in the Metropolitan Opera House. The

opera chosen for the first broadcasting was "Cavalleria Rusticana," and the tenor who sang the principal rôle was Enrico Caruso.

Less than one hundred amateur listeners heard Caruso sing that night. But last winter, when grand opera was broadcast from the great stadium of the College of the City of New York, the wireless waves carried the music over a territory of a million and a quarter square miles, with a population of more than fifty millions! And it has been estimated that more than three million people heard the opera through three quarters of a million receiving sets, each with an average audience of from two to five persons.

Every reader of this article who owns a vacuum tube receiving set knows the importance of amplifying tubes. It was in Palo Alto, California, in 1912, that De Forest discovered that the vacuum tube could be used as an amplifier, or magnifier, of sound. The first use made of it was in connection with cross continent wire telephony.

While perfecting the amplifier, De Forest made a discovery that was as important to radio *transmitting* as the invention of the vacuum tube had been to *receiving*. He was working with his tubes in the laboratory in California when the tubes began to make a noise in the receivers. It was the familiar "howl" or "squeal" so often cursed by the broadcast listener.

When De Forest investigated this noise he found that, under certain conditions, the tubes began to "oscillate," or to generate high frequency currents. This discovery made possible the perfect transmission of the modern broadcasting station equipped with these tubes.

In 1920, in the California Theatre, in San Francisco, De Forest opened the first station in the world to broadcast daily programs of entertainment. This station was heard all up and down the coast and as far east as St. Paul, but it aroused only local interest. General enthusiasm did not come until a year later.

Between the years of 1912 and 1917 De Forest improved his apparatus and hunted for capital. He began to work on the idea of developing amateur interest in radio, and of selling tubes and parts for sets. This business was beginning to develop and to show that it held possibilities, when the war came along and took wireless out of all hands except those of the Government. By 1917 it became evident that the Allies were going to need a lot of vacuum tubes to supply army needs, and, as De Forest owned the patents on these tubes, for the first time it looked as though he might be rewarded for his work.

Years before, he had offered his amplifier patents for sale for use in telephony. Before he received any answer to his offer his company became involved in a

long and costly litigation. While he was in straits for money he was offered $50,000 for the amplifier rights and, later, $90,000 more for an unlimited license to manufacture and sell the tubes, which he accepted. His remaining rights in the patents of his inventions he sold a year or so later for a little more than a million dollars. He is a long way, now, from the eight-dollar-a-week youth who haunted the free-lunch counters in Chicago to save a dollar or two with which to buy materials.

Although De Forest is less than fifty years old his hair is snow white, and his spare figure still shows the privations he went through in pursuit of his idea.

But he is still inventing. He is working now on what he considers his second most important invention, the "phono-film," an arrangement by which an ordinary motion-picture camera will record sounds while making a picture. The moving picture of a band, for example, will be accompanied by an exact reproduction of the music it is playing.

AUTHORITIES

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THE WRIGHT BROTHERS

ORVILLE WRIGHT

1871–

WILBUR WRIGHT

1867-1912

AERIAL NAVIGATION

THE WRIGHT BROTHERS

Invention and Development of the Airplane

By ALEXANDER KLEMIN,
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THE great story of the Wright Brothers begins on the 16th of April, 1867, when Wilbur Wright was born within eight miles of New Castle, Indiana. Before Orville's birth on the 19th of August, 1871, the Wright family had moved to Dayton, a city which the two boys were to make famous as the birthplace of the airplane. The navigation of the air had occupied men's minds from the earliest ages. The interest of the Wright boys in this fascinating problem was aroused in early childhood. Late in the autumn of 1878 their father, Bishop Milton Wright, a respected and beloved citizen of the city, came into the house one evening with some object partly concealed in his hands, and before anyone could see what it was, he tossed it into the air. Instead of falling to the floor, it flew across the room, struck a wall, hovered a while, and finally sank to the floor. It was a little toy, known to scientists as a helicopter, but which the Wright boys, with sublime disregard for science, at once dubbed a "bat." It consisted of

a light frame of cork and bamboo, covered with paper, which formed two air screws, driven in opposite directions by two tightly twisted rubber bands. A toy so delicate lasted only a short time in the hands of small boys, but its memory was abiding. Thousands of boys had played with a similar toy and cast it aside. But with the young Wright brothers it was the first spark that lit the fire of genius.

Several years later Wilbur and Orville began building these helicopters for themselves. But to their astonishment, the larger the "bat" the less it flew. They finally became discouraged and turned to kite flying, a sport to which they devoted so much attention that they became experts. But as they grew older, they had to give up this fascinating sport as unbecoming to boys of their age. But they showed their energy and activity in other ways.

When Orville was still a boy in his teens he started a printing business, which was somewhat limited by the smallness of his machine and the small quantity of type at his disposal. The machine was built originally with odd pieces of string and wood—an early lesson in overcoming mechanical difficulties and in making the best of inadequate materials. Somehow or other, Orville managed to print a boys' paper the "Midget" which gained considerable popularity

in Dayton. Later, he obtained a more efficient outfit, with which he launched a weekly newspaper, four pages in size, entitled *The West Side News.* After three months' running, the paper was increased in size and Wilbur came into the enterprise as editor, contributing a series of articles on local affairs that gave evidence of the incisive and often sarcastic manner in which he was able to express himself throughout his life. Orville remained the publisher. The two brothers began work together early in life, and remained mutually helpful and inseparable partners till death parted them.

Following a strong mechanical bent, the two young men passed on to a small business as cycle makers and repairmen, and built the "Van Cleve" bicycle, which won and kept great local reputation for excellence of construction. Incidentally they gained the mechanical skill and ingenuity, and the thoroughness which was to be so valuable to them. The house in which they worked was a small and unpretentious one; their shop and planning room but poorly equipped for the wonderful experiments they were soon to assay. The little building still remains, and may be purchased and maintained as a lasting memorial of the modest birthplace of the airplane, a shrine for all aeronautical enthusiasts.

Ever since their early kite flying days, Wilbur and

Orville had had the problem of flight in mind. But it was not till the news of the death of Lilienthal, a famous German glider enthusiast, reached America in the fall of 1896, that they gave the subject more than passing thought. Their early interest and mechanical ability then asserted themselves, and both brothers plunged into serious study of the writings of all the famous men who had increased man's knowledge of the air, without achieving its conquest. Neither of the brothers had studied science or engineering in the predigested fashion of the average college student; neither of them knew a great deal of mathematics; the literature of aeronautics was extensive, inaccurate and confused; but in spite of these handicaps, the two brothers penetrated to the very heart of the subject. Chanute's "Progress in Flying Machines," Langley's "Experiments in Aerodynamics," and in particular the "Aeronautical Annuals" published by James Means gave them all the scientific knowledge then available, with a clear idea of the nature of the flying problem; while Mouillard's "Empire of the Air" and numerous articles by Lilienthal fired them with unquenchable enthusiasm, and converted curiosity into active scientific interest.

But the two practical young men were not content with book study of the work of other men. They realized immediately that while theory was indispensable,

it had to be accompanied by practice. Some years later Wilbur Wright expressed this view in a lecture before the Western Society of Engineers, in the graphic language which he knew so well how to command. "Now there are two ways of learning to ride a fractious horse: one is to get on him and learn by actual practice how each motion and trick may be best met; the other is to sit on a fence and watch the beast awhile, and then retire to the house and at leisure figure out the best way of overcoming his jumps and kicks. The latter system is the safer, but the former, on the whole, turns out the larger proportion of good riders. It is very much the same in learning to ride a flying machine. If you are looking for perfect safety, you will do well to sit on a fence and watch the birds, but if you really wish to learn, you must mount a machine and become acquainted with its tricks by actual trial." Accordingly the brothers set to work on practical experimentation.

At this time in the field of aviation, there were two schools of thought. The first, represented by such famous men as Professor Langley of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, and Sir Hiram Maxim, the inventor of the Maxim gun, who thought the proper method of attack was to experiment with powered airplanes. The second, represented by Lilienthal, a German, Mouillard, a Frenchman, and Chanute, an Amer-

ican, placed their reliance on the study of gliding and the soaring flight of birds. The Wrights' sympathies were with the latter school, partly from impatience at the wasteful extravagance of mounting delicate and costly machinery on wings which no one knew how to manage, and partly, no doubt, from the extraordinary harm and enthusiasm with which the apostles of soaring flight set forth the beauties of sailing through the air on fixed wings, deriving the motive power from the wind itself.

For several years accordingly, they built kites and gliders and conducted outdoor experiments to test the data and theories of Lilienthal and the other authorities. But in attacking the problem they showed a genius and originality which started them on the path to success, and enabled them to succeed where all others had failed.

While mankind has only been flying for a little over twenty years, the fundamental principles and control of the airplane seem almost as natural and simple to us as those of an oar driven boat. The wings or planes move forward at an angle to the wind, and receive by this motion an upward sustaining force or lift which counteracts the force of gravity. The lift of the wing is transmitted by trussing, not unlike the trussing of a bridge, to the fuselage of the body of the airplane, which contains the pilot and passengers, the

engine, the fuel tanks and instruments. Since the air opposes the forward motion of the wings and of the rest of the airplane, setting up resistance or drag, the airplane must be pulled through the air by the propeller. This is like a giant corkscrew screwing its way through air and pulling the rest of the airplane behind it. The great airscrew needs power to turn it and hence there must be an engine, driven by gasolene and exactly similar in principle to the automobile engine, to turn the air screw shaft. If the pilot wishes to steer his machine to the right, he must turn the vertical rudder at the tail of the airplane so that the wind strikes it from the right, and the front end of the airplane heads to the right, accordingly. If he wishes to roll his machine so that the right wing is lowered, he increases the lift on the left wing by turning down the left aileron, and therefore presenting the left surface more to the wind, while simultaneously raising the right aileron. If he wants to nose his machine down, he depresses the elevator at the tail end of the ship, so that the air strikes it violently from underneath. All this seems perfectly clear to anyone who has seen a modern airplane at close quarters or handled its controls if only on the ground. A little imagination is sufficient to picture the whole process of control, and any healthy young man can learn straightforward flying in five to ten hours—though

it may take him a long time to master aerial acrobatics. But in the days before the first momentous flights of the Wright brothers, the principles of control seemed a mystery which baffled all experimenters.

A great achievement of the Wrights was in the discovery and application of these principles. Lilienthal had guided and balanced his gliders by shifting the weight of the operator's body. But this method seemed to the Wrights incapable of expansion to meet the requirements of larger craft, carrying more passengers than the flyer himself. The pilot's weight was a fixed quantity, the distance through which he could move his body quickly was small, so that the controlling forces his body could introduce were strictly limited in power, while with larger machines the disturbing forces of guests increased indefinitely. In order to meet the needs of large machines, the Wrights wished therefore to employ some system whereby the operator could vary at will the inclination of different parts of the wings, and thus obtain from the wind forces to restore the balance which the wind itself had disturbed.

They achieved this system with apparent ease. A happy device was discovered whereby the apparently rigid supporting surfaces or wings could be warped at will, thus presenting the right and left sides at different angles to the wind. Here was the precursor

of the modern aileron system, used to this day and likely to be used as long as the airplane resembles at all its present embodiment. Their very first glider incorporated with the warping device a horizontal front rudder—elevator in modern nomenclature, and a few short years later they included the vertical or steering rudder which worked in conjunction with the warp of the wings. Even had the Wrights never flown in a powered aircraft, their discovery of an adequate control system would have earned them lasting fame. But their general discoveries in aerodynamics and in the principles of equilibrium were perhaps even more valuable to aviation.

The period from 1885 to 1900 was one of unexampled activity in aeronautics, and for a time there was high hope that the age of flying was at hand. But Sir Hiram Maxim, after spending $100,000 in England, abandoned the work; the Ader machine, built at the expense of the French government, was a failure; Lilienthal and Pilcher were killed in experiments, and many others, from one cause or another, had relaxed their efforts. The public, discouraged by the failures and tragedies, considered mechanical flight beyond the reach of men, and classed its adherents with the inventors of perpetual motion.

In the early stages of their serious studies and experiments at Dayton, between the years 1896 and

1900, this discouragement of the public was at its height. Nor did scientists think very much better of the prospect of aerial navigation. Langley died of a broken heart, derided by his fellow scientists, and just two months before the first powered flight at Kitty Hawk, Prof. Simon Newcomb, perhaps the most eminent astronomer of the day, writing in the *Independent*, said: "The example of the bird does not prove that man can fly. There are many problems which have fascinated mankind, since civilization began, which we have made little or no advance in solving. May not our mechanicians be ultimately forced to admit that aerial flight is one of that great class of problems with which man can never cope, and give up all attempts to grapple with it? Imagine the proud possessor of the aeroplane darting through the air at a speed of several hundred feet per second! It is the speed alone that sustains him. How is he ever going to stop?"

The young Wrights showed their true greatness of soul by courageous disregard of common opinion. Nor did they find much encouragement locally. It is true that they were their own masters in their cycle shop, with equipment, however simple, ready at hand for their experiments. Katherine Wright, their sister, was always sympathetic and highly confident of her brothers' success. But their neighbors smiled and less

considerate townsfolk tapped their foreheads. Why such quiet and promising young mechanics should waste their earnings and indeed the brothers always experimented with their own hard earned money, on a chimerical venture was beyond their comprehension. Their father, Bishop Wright, laughed at them sometimes. In fact, the Bishop came home one day with a newspaper which told of the death of one young man experimenting with a glider, and said: "You can see what comes to people for trying those things, boys." Immediately after—this was in 1899—the boys went forth and fashioned all sorts of new gliders. But in reality the Wrights' father was a man of intellectual interests who encouraged them in scientific pursuits, even when these were entirely without pecuniary possibilities.

Perhaps it was largely this disapproving attitude of their associates and friends which led Wilbur and Orville to seek the most secluded spot they could find, far from any human habitation, where they could continue their experiments undisturbed. But there were far more practical reasons likewise. By 1900, their studies and experiments had progressed so far that they thought it time to try out man carrying gliders. It seemed to them at the time that the reason why the problem had remained so long unsolved was that no one had been able to obtain any adequate

practice. They figured out that Lilienthal, up to the time of his death the most famous exponent of the gliding art, had spent only about five hours in actual gliding through the air. The wonder was not that he had done so little, but that he had accomplished so much. It would not be considered at all safe for a bicycle rider to attempt to ride through a crowded city street after only five hours practice, spread out in bits of ten seconds each over a period of five years. Yet Lilienthal with this brief practice was remarkably successful in meeting the fluctuations and eddies of wind gusts. The Wrights argued that if some method could be found whereby it would be possible to practice by the hour instead of by the second, there would be hope of advancing the solution of a very difficult problem. It seemed to them that it would be feasible to do this by building a machine which would be sustained at a speed of some eighteen miles per hour, and then finding a locality where winds of this velocity were common. With these conditions, a rope attached to a machine to keep it from floating backward, would answer very nearly the same purpose as a propeller driven by a motor, and it would be possible to practice by the hour, and without any serious danger, as it would not be necessary to rise far from the ground, and the machine would not have any forward motion at all. They found, according to

the tables of air pressure on curved wing surfaces accepted at that time, that a machine with 200 square feet of wing surface would be sufficient for their purpose; and that places would easily be found along the Atlantic coast where winds of sixteen to twenty-five miles an hour were not at all uncommon. When the winds were low, it was their plan to glide from the tops of sandhills, and when they were sufficiently strong to use a rope for their motor and fly over one spot.

They soon settled on a spot which would answer their desire for solitude and satisfy their very ideal of metereological and geographical requirements. This was on a strip of sand, somewhat gruesomely termed Kill Devil Hill, near the little settlement of Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, situated on the narrow strip of land dividing Albemarle Sound from the Atlantic. When in after years correspondents of the great metropolitan newspapers were detailed to follow the flights attracting world wide attention, they found that even the General Manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad could scarcely tell them where Kitty Hawk was and how to get there. Byron R. Newton, former Collector of the Port of New York, and in his younger days aviation reporter of the *New York Herald*, has graphically described his pilgrimage to this isolated spot. "It took me three days to get there," said Mr.

Newton in some recent reminiscences. "The place was in the sand dunes on a stretch of beach along the North Carolina coast. To get there we had to go to Elizabeth City, Virginia, thence to the head of the Dismal Swamp, then to Pamlico, Albemarle and Roanoke Sound, landing at Manteo, on Roanoke Island." And describing his efforts to watch the unsuspecting Wright brothers at their work: "The Wrights were still on Kill Devil Hill, a strip of sand just across the sound. To get there we had to leave each morning at four o'clock, cross the sound in a slow launch or row-boat, walk six miles through sandhill and jungle, and then hide in the woods a mile distant all day to watch their movements, with endless numbers of moccasins, black snakes, wild pigs and other things all round us."

But the Kill Devil sandhills, the principal of which is slightly over a hundred feet in height, with the right slope of ten degrees, were ideal for the Wrights' purpose. Disregarding their desolate surroundings, they settled down in a rough shack and set to work.

The original plan of flying their glider as a kite proved unsuccessful. The tables of air pressure the Wrights used were apparently in error, and the lifting capacity of the kite flights fell far short of expectation. They then turned to gliding—coasting downhill on air—as the only method of getting the

desired practice in balancing a machine. After a few minutes practice they were able to make glides of over 300 feet, and in a few days were safely operating in 27-mile winds. The experiments taught the Wrights many things, and in particular the absolute necessity of a steering rudder, and the fact that on the curved surface of the wind the center of pressure moved back when the inclination of the wing was small, so that a machine would nose dangerously down unless the pilot stopped the movement promptly with his elevator.

Wilbur Wright has provided a fairly full account of what was accomplished in the 1901 experiments. The record shows an amount of patient and painstaking work almost beyond belief—it was no question of making a plane and launching it, but was a business of trial and error, investigation and tabulation of detail, and the rejection, time after time, of previously accepted theories, till the brothers must have felt that the solid earth was no longer secure at times.

The experiments of 1901 were, however, far from encouraging. Although Mr. Chanute, a man of sixty, too old to fly himself, but generously and wisely encouraging the younger men, assured the Wrights that both in control and in every other respect they had gone further than any of their predecessors, yet they saw that the calculations upon which all flying ma-

chines had been based were unreliable, and that all were simply groping in the dark. Having set out with absolute faith in the existing scientific data, they were driven to doubt one thing after another, till finally after two years of experiment, they cast it all aside and decided to rely entirely upon their own investigations.

And herein Wilbur and Orville Wright showed another instance of the greatness of their souls. These "Wright boys of Dayton," as they were called contemptuously for many years by multitudes of envious inventors, without any great education back of them, without any special training in scientific investigation, found errors in the works of great authorities of the French Academy, of the Royal Aeronautical Society, of the great Langley himself, and dared to challenge them. And without any government subsidy, relying solely on their own slender resources, they achieved results in the fundamental science of air flow, which stand correct to the present day.

It is true that they had taken up aeronautics merely as a sport. They entered reluctantly upon the scientific side of it. But they soon found the work so fascinating that they were drawn into it deeper and deeper. Two testing machines were built, which the Wrights believed would avoid the errors to which the measurements of others had been subject. After

making preliminary measurements on a great number of different shaped surfaces, to secure a general understanding of the subject, they began systematic measurement of standard surfaces, so varied in design as to bring out the underlying causes of differences noted in their pressures. Measurements were tabulated on nearly fifty of these at all angles to the wind from zero to 45 degrees, at intervals of 2½ degrees. Measurements were also secured showing the effects on each other when surfaces are superimposed or when they follow one another.

With this monumental work accomplished, they built a new glider embodying their most valuable results, and returned to Kill Devil Hill the next season.

In September and October 1902, nearly 1000 gliding flights were made, several of which covered distances of over 600 feet. Some made in perfect safety against a wind of 36 miles an hour, gave proof of the soundness of their controlling devices. In 1903 in strong winds they made a number of flights in which they remained in the air for over a minute, often soaring for a considerable time in one spot, without any descent at all. Little wonder that their unscientific assistant should think the only thing needed to keep the glider indefinitely in the air would be a coat of feathers to make it light.

With accurate data for making calculations, and a

system of balance effective in winds as well as in calms, they thought they were now in a position to build a successful powered machine. The first designs provided for a total weight of 600 lbs., including the operator and an eight horse-power motor. But, upon completion the motor gave more power than had been estimated for, and this allowed 150 lbs. to be added for strengthening the wings and other parts.

The carefully compiled air pressure tables made the designing of the wings an easy matter. But matters were very much harder when it came to the airscrew or propeller. The Wrights thought they would get help from the marine engineers who had been using the screw-propeller for nearly a century, but they had only rule of thumb methods, which could not be applied to the air propeller. No real information of any sort was available, and the Wrights had neither the time nor the money to make lengthy experiments. With the machine moving forward, the air flying backward, the propellers turning sidewise, and nothing standing still, it seemed impossible to find a starting point for the analysis of the problem. Nowhere in their careers did the Wrights show a greater ability to think than at this stage of their work. After several months had passed, and every phase of the problem had been thrashed over and over, they developed a theory, based on the fact that the propeller blades

were themselves wings traveling in a spiral course; and their first propellers built entirely from calculation gave in useful work 66 percent of the power delivered by the motor. Their very first effort secured one-third more efficiency than had been obtained by Maxim or Langley, who had had infinitely greater resources at their command.

With the solution of the propeller problem, their main difficulties were over. The first powered machine the Wrights built was a modification of the glider. It had two main supporting surfaces. Each wing was forty feet in spread and six and a half feet wide, giving a total wing area of about five hundred and forty square feet. The elevator used to steer the machine up and down was placed ahead of the machine, instead of the better position now used at the tail end of the airplane. But the aviators had acquired an almost uncanny skill in feeling gusts that were about to strike the machine, and they were aided in this with the forward elevator. The steering vertical rudder was well behind the wings so as to give a large purchase. The curved wings were carefully braced with wooden uprights or struts, and steel wires. The motor had its four cylinders of 4 inch bore and 4 inch stroke placed horizontally, and developed some twelve horse-power, or about one-third the power of a Ford motor. The pilot was to lie flat on his

stomach so as to offer the least possible resistance to the air. Foreseeing accidents, they placed the motor on one side of the man, so that in case of a plunge head first, the motor could not fall upon him. To provide against the machine rolling over forward in landing, skids were designed like sled runners, extending out in front of the main wings. The wings themselves were slightly curved or cambered, so as to give as smooth an air flow as possible. Two propellers were used, placed out on either side and driven by chains from the motor. They were driven in opposite directions to avoid gyroscopic effects. The whole machine, fully loaded with operator and fuel, weighed 745 to 750 pounds. Its maximum speed was about 31 miles per hour. They had no wheels to help in making a get-away, but used a species of catapault comprising a monorail, a towline and a falling weight to gain initial momentum.

The construction of the early Wright biplanes looks crude and homemade to a modern engineer. The power was tiny compared with the war planes carrying huge 400 horse-power Liberty motors—so famous in the great war—and the speed seems very small when we think of present day racing planes. But all the essentials were there. The Wrights had solved all the fundamental problems, all subsequent work has

been mainly a matter of development and refinement, not further invention.

Wilbur and Orville left Dayton on September 23, 1903, and arrived at their camp at Kill Devil Hill on Friday, the 25th. They found there provisions and tools, which had been shipped by freight several weeks in advance. Their building, erected in 1901 and enlarged in 1902, was found to have been blown by a storm from its foundation posts a few months previously. Their very first job was to put the old building in repair and erect a new one to serve as a workshop and for assembling and housing the machine.

As if the problem of flying the first airplane was not difficult enough in itself, the weather and everything else seemed to conspire against them. Some of the worst storms that had visited Kitty Hawk made matters all the harder. One night a wind of 75 miles an hour threatened to blow the roof off. When Orville, trying to nail the tar paper roof down, ascended a ladder and reached the edge of the roof, the wind caught under his large coat, blew it round his head and bound his arms till he was perfectly helpless. After Wilbur had rescued him, the wind was so strong that he could not guide his hammer and he succeeded in striking his fingers as often as the nails. They met all sorts of mechanical difficulties. Using their bicycle experience, they had to use tire cement

for fastening the sprockets on the propeller shaft. More bad weather, snow, the breakage of the propeller shafts, all kinds of difficulties consumed weeks and months. But the Wrights met all difficulties with their usual indomitable courage, and finally they were ready.

The first flights with a powered airplane were made on December 17, 1903. Only five persons besides the Wrights were present. These were Messrs. John T. Daniels, W. S. Dough and A. D. Etherbridge of the Kill Devil Life Saving Station; Mr. W. C. Brinkley, of Manteo, and Mr. John Ward, of Naghead. Although a general invitation had been extended to the people living within five or six miles, not many were willing to face the rigors of a cold December wind in order to see, as they no doubt thought, another flying machine not fly.

During the night of December 16th, a strong cold wind blew from the north. Puddles of water were covered with ice. The wind had a velocity of 22 to 27 miles an hour, but this was an advantage since by facing the flyer into the strong wind, there would be no trouble in launching from the level ground about the camp, on which the monorail track was laid. The biting cold wind made work difficult, and the party had to warm up frequently in their living room, where

they had a good fire in an improvised stove made of a large carbide can.

Wilbur, having used his turn in an unsuccessful attempt on December 14th, the first trial now belonged to Orville. After running the motor a few minutes to heat it up, he released the wire that held the machine to the track, and the machine started forward into the wind about 10:30 on the morning of December 17th. Wilbur ran at the side of the machine, holding the wing to balance it on the track. The machine facing a 27-mile wind started very slowly. Wilbur was able to stay with it till it lifted from the track after a forty foot run. The course of the flight up and down was exceedingly erratic, partly due to the irregularity of the air, and partly to lack of experience in handling this machine. The control of the front elevator was difficult on account of its being balanced too near its center. This gave it a tendency to turn itself when started, so that it turned too far up and then too far down. As a result the machine would rise suddenly to about ten feet, and then as suddenly dart for the ground. A sudden dart when a little over a hundred feet from the end of the track, or a little over 120 feet from the point at which it rose in the air, ended the flight. The short distance covered was due to the strong head wind, and the flight only lasted 12 seconds, but it was nevertheless

the first in the history of the world in which a machine carrying a man had raised itself by its own power in full flight, had sailed forward without reduction of speed, and had finally landed at a point as high as that from which it had started.

Wilbur flew at twenty minutes after eleven, covering more ground but staying a second less in the air. The third flight lasted fifteen seconds and the distance over the ground was a little over 200 feet.

Wilbur started the fourth and last flight at just 12 o'clock. The first few hundred feet were up and down as before, but by the time three hundred feet had been covered, the machine was under much better control. The course for the next four or five hundred feet had but little undulation. However, when out about eight hundred feet the machine began pitching again, and in one of its starts downward struck the ground. The distance was found to be 852 feet, the time of the flight 59 seconds.

While the party was standing about discussing this last flight, a sudden strong gust of wind struck the machine and began to turn it over. Everybody made a rush for it. Wilbur, who was at one end, seized it in front, Mr. Daniels and Orville tried to stop it by holding to the rear uprights. All their efforts were vain. The machine rolled over and over. Daniels, who had retained his grip, was carried along with it

and was thrown head over heels inside the machine. Fortunately, he was not seriously injured. The ribs in the surface of the machine were broken, the motor injured and the chain guides badly bent, so that all possibility of further flights with it were at an end.

The above account is scant and undramatic, but no newspaper correspondents were present, and the Wrights, masters of a clear, incisive style, were not given to picturesque newspaper descriptions.

Although hard hit by this accident, the brothers found financial resources enough to build a heavier and stronger machine, and continued their experiments near their home town. Stage by stage the Wrights changed and revised and developed their craft. They found they had not entirely solved the problem of equilibrium, particularly in circular flight. Finally on October 5, 1905, at Hoffman Field, Dayton, they made a circular flight of twenty-four miles. The newspapers have always made much of the secrecy and mystery attaching to this work. Yet these Dayton flights were made on a ground open on every side, and bordered on two sides by much travelled thoroughfares, with electric cars passing every hour, and seen by all the people living in the neighborhood for miles around. It was only later that the Wrights adopted secrecy for weighty business reasons. It was rather that the newspapermen had seen bad trials on several days,

unsuccessful trials on other days, lost confidence in the airplane, and almost all interest—the excuse of secrecy cloaked their indifference later on. As a matter of fact, the story of the wonderful flight at Hoffman Field was received with incredulity and the first description was published in a paper devoted to bee culture. Suspicion grew until people were calling the inventors crazy, liars and even worse things.

Like all great pioneers, the Wrights were not finding much popular encouragement. But satisfied that they had achieved success, they were undaunted and continued new design and construction. They also now had to consider the financial side of their work. Their experiments had been conducted entirely at their own expense. In the beginning they had no thought of recovering what they were expending, which was not great and was limited to what they could afford in recreation. Besides, they were too engrossed in their fascinating work to devote much time to thoughts of money making. But now that they had put their discovery of the airplane on a solid basis, and had come to devote the major part of their time to their flying machines, they abandoned all other business and devoted all their energies to the construction of a practical machine and to business negotiations.

Hitherto the Wrights had called to the world to

view their experiments in vain. Now they had to assume unwillingly the role of cautious business men if they were to reap the reward of their expenditures and sacrifices. They were not yet covered by the granting of patent claims, and hence they now adopted the policy of withholding details of their powered machine, or disclosing them sparingly. They were in a very difficult position. If they exhibited their machine and aerodynamic data too promptly, they might jeopardize their financial interests by assisting or stimulating rival aviators. On the other hand, by procrastination and concealment they might, in various ways, forfeit priority and scientific credit. Their own published experiments were being studied and repeated, and at any moment some lucky imitator might herald all their discoveries as his own, and rob them of the rewards of their amazing originality and courage.

However, the very indifference of the world at large, and their superiority to all other inventors saved them, and led to successful fruition of their plans.

No man is a prophet in his own country, and the Wrights were no exception to the rule. The publication in 1905, in a foreign aeronautical journal, of an enthusiastic account of the Wrights' flights from 1903 to 1905, aroused no enthusiasm in our War Depart-

ment. But it aroused a big sensation in Europe, and started renewed experimentation there at a time when discouraged lethargy prevailed among continental dreamers of aerial locomotion. Nor did an official announcement by the Aero Club of America, after investigation and interviewing witnesses of flights inspire any official action by our government. The French authorities, however, were more keen and sent over a Major Bonel, who visited Dayton in 1906 and satisfied himself of the truth of the Wrights' statements.

Nor was Germany blind to the possibilities of the airplane, for in October 1906 Captain Hildebrandt, student of aeronautics, and author of works on the subject, investigated the claims of the Wrights. He expressed the opinion, in view of the secrecy maintained by the Wrights, that the machine itself was so simple that a purchaser could not be found at the price asked were it exhibited. "Furthermore, I am inclined to think it requires great skill to handle the machine. I am of the firm belief that a sum as high as $100,000 will not be required if we entrust German engineers and aeronauts with the solution of this problem. Surely we will not have to be behind the American inventors."

But this typically German and discouraging visitor was of indirect service. His visit was noticed by an

individual in private life, and in the course of time, as a result of his interest, the Board of Ordnance and Fortification deigned to address a letter to the Wrights asking them to submit a proposition. The Wrights asked what specifications would be required. The Board had nothing to suggest and its interest seemed rather perfunctory.

This apathy toward the airplane on the part of the Board of Ordnance and Fortification may have been partially excusable. It was not so long before that this Board and the War Department had been bitterly attacked in Congress for spending money on Langley's man-carrying flying machine (which smashed up two months before the first Kitty Hawk flights, although later Glenn Curtiss, another famous pioneer, repaired it and flew it successfully with some changes). Dr. Langley was characterized as "a professor wandering in his dreams," and these bitter attacks hastened his untimely death. While the Army and the Navy are now enthusiastic supporters of aviation, an apathetic attitude is noticeable in Congress to this day, and is allowing Europe to take a tremendous lead in commercial aviation of the very country in which the airplane had its birth.

In the winter of 1906, the Wrights were carrying on negotiations with foreign governments; and when, in 1907, these negotiations were successful, our mili-

tary attachés in Europe brought them to the attention of the War Department, it showed real interest for the first time. When the Wrights had made earlier proposals to the Government, they had—with the true generosity of noble scientists—offered to drop their patent applications and give all their inventions to the world for the relatively insignificant sum of $100,000. The indifference and financial hardships they had encountered in the meantime led them to withdraw this generous offer, and they now decided to deal with the Government on a business basis.

Finally, at the very end of the year 1907, as the result of an interview in Washington between Wilbur Wright and the Chief Signal Officer, General James Allen, public specifications were issued for the first time in history, and bids asked for a "gasless flying machine." The requirements seemed at that time extremely severe, yet nothing serves better to illustrate the immense progress achieved since that time. The machine was to carry two men weighing 350 pounds, with sufficient fuel for 125 miles. Nowadays a machine may have to carry several tons of fuel and be capable of flying across the continent. The speed was to be 40 miles an hour. The American Army or Navy Air Service now consider 150 miles an hour the minimum speed required of a fast fighting plane. The airplane was to be steerable in all directions and at all

times to be under perfect control. It was to be sufficiently simple to allow an intelligent man to become proficient in its use within a reasonable time.

In spite of the apparent severity of the conditions, twenty-two bids were received, but only three bids were accepted. The Wrights offered to build a biplane for $25,000, and included in their price the instruction of two men, and they alone completed the contract.

The Wrights now resumed their experiments at Kitty Hawk, making some wonderful flights—reported at great length by newspapers all over the country, although they now sought secrecy.

Immediately after the successful trials at Kitty Hawk, Wilbur Wright sailed to France, and it was left to Orville to demonstrate their contract machine with great success at Fort Myer, just across the Potomac from the National Capitol. He was lionized and given a semi-official celebration in Washington, where the crowd took for its slogan, "I'd rather be Wright than President." On the morning of September 9th, just six days after the first flight with his new biplane, Orville Wright made fifty-seven complete circles over the drill field, at an altitude of 120 feet, remaining aloft one hour and two minutes, thus establishing several records on the same day.

Outside of their work in the field of the airplane, the Wrights led a quiet life. Their whole energy,

their entire being, was concentrated. Hence the absence of those flashing traits of character, those dramatic sayings which occur in the lives of other great men. We are grateful, therefore, to newspaper accounts of the Fort Myer trials for another glimpse of the personal character of Orville. A small man, with a strikingly mild face, but full of a certain unique personality, he stood unruffled on the field, answering most patiently and as accurately as he could thousands of quizzical, curious and sometimes idiotic questions. Even when the motor would not turn over, when a minor accident placed the aviator in a difficult and undignified posture, he remained quiet, unruffled. This small town boy added to the culmination of the qualities of the American pioneer, every touch of the most polished gentleman. Many a head would have been turned, but in the midst of wild popular acclaim, of wide official recognition, Orville remained as modest and as unassuming as ever.

But while the Fort Myer trials were a startling demonstration of what the airplane could already do, a great personal success for Orville, and marked the real entry of the United States Army into the field of military aviation, they were also the occasion of the most serious accident in the career of the two brothers.

Neither Wilbur nor Orville had anything of the showman in their make-up. They never stunted or

took unnecessary risks. And they invariably took the greatest precautions to see that every part of their machines was in perfect order. To these reasons they owed their habitual freedom from accidents. But on September 17th, while Orville was sailing through the air with Lieutenant Thomas E. Selfridge at a height of about 75 feet, a blade of the right hand propeller struck and loosened a stay wire of the rear rudder. Instantly the wire coiled about the blade, snapping it across the middle. Thereupon the machine became difficult to manage and plunged headlong to the earth, throwing the men with their faces on the bare ground. Through the tangled, twisted mass of slivered wood and glistening wire could be heard a low cry, "Poor Selfridge, poor Selfridge. Get me out, please." The words came from the lips of Orville, who had not lost consciousness, and whose first thought was for his companion. The great inventor suffered a fracture of the left thigh and of two ribs on the right side. Lieutenant Selfridge did not recover consciousness, and died within three hours from wounds on the forehead and concussion of the base of the brain. Selfridge was the first man to be killed in a powered airplane. Later a field near Detroit was named after him, where thousands of aviators received their training during the war.

It was not till June 1909 that Orville reappeared at Fort Myer, fully recovered, accompanied by Wilbur and his two mechanics, to complete the official tests. They went about their work in a quiet business-like manner.

There was considerable discussion as to whether Orville Wright would have the nerve to fly over the same spot where the accident occurred, and it was hinted that was why Wilbur came along—to make the flights.

All the gossip proved unfounded. Orville Wright proved he had all the nerve required to fly over any spot, tragic or otherwise. Within a few days after he arrived at Fort Myer, he complied with the official tests by taking Lieutenant Foulois, of the Signal Corps, on a ten mile cross-country flight, remained aloft for an hour or more on another occasion, and attained a speed of 42 miles an hour and an altitude of about 500 feet, with the result that the machine was formally and officially accepted by the Signal Corps and became government property.

And here it may not be out of place to remark that while nowhere in the writings or interviews of either Wilbur or Orville is there even a hint of the fact that they were running any special risks, they were in fact passing through many dangers and exhibiting uncommon courage. Nowadays not even one flight

in ten thousand is attended by even a minor accident. If stunts and foolhardy movie exhibitions are barred, the airplane has now reached the safe and sane stage. But in 1907 and for many years afterwards fatalities were woefully numerous. Almost every meet was marked by an accident, and every aviator seemed fated to meet his death by a crash. Piloting was not so fully understood as it is at present, and when a machine was in difficulties, the aviator did not always know what to do in the emergency to save his machine and his life. Motors were very unreliable and would seem to fail at the most inopportune moment, when there was no suitable spot for the glide to earth. Mechanical construction was not fully understood, controls would break, wires cut the propeller, cables fail under severe loads. The slow flying craft, with little reserve power, felt the impact of every wind gust much more severely than do modern planes which fly so fast that wind disturbances are scarcely perceived. The fact that the Wrights were on the whole so immune from accidents is a tribute to their wonderful skill and coolness in every emergency, their truly bird-like sensitiveness to every disturbance of the air, to their wonderful mechanical skill and care, and to their avoidance of showy and useless feats.

While Orville was flying at Fort Myer and recovering from his accident, Wilbur was in France flying

on the race-course at Hunandrieres, near LeMans, and arousing the admiration and enthusiasm of thousands. In December 1908 Claude Graham White, with a party of Englishmen, visited him. Graham White subsequently earned a great reputation himself as an aviator, and has written most interestingly of his visit to LeMans, giving us a rare and valuable glimpse of the great Wilbur.

When the party reached Wright's hangar, they found it to be a simple shed, built of boards, one corner partitioned off like a loose box, furnished only by a truckle-bed in the corner, a bicycle, two chairs and a common little deal table. Wilbur slept there under conditions minus all the comforts of modern life. He had to keep an eye on his beloved aeroplane. His affection for his aeroplane resembled that of a parent for his child. The Wright biplane struck Graham White as an apparently simple mechanism. But in spite of the crudeness of the materials employed in its construction, and the rough-and-ready way in which they had been put together, all the essentials were there. Wilbur Wright simply was not a showman. He flew, but did not try to impress the public with nickel-plated beauty in his machine.

The French regarded Wilbur, with his gaunt form, his weather-beaten face and piercing, hawk-like eyes, with reverence and awe. They thought him curiously

like an eagle. In the midst of excitable and talkative continentals, he appeared quiet, taciturn. An utterance of his, "The only birds that talk are parrots, and they are not birds of high flight," was thoroughly characteristic of the man.

Wilbur made flights to altitudes of 300 feet and more, surprising in those days, created universal enthusiasm, and concluded a very satisfactory arrangement with a French syndicate for the construction of his machine in France. He returned to the United States, and as we have seen, accompanied his brother in the final trials at Fort Myer.

On his return, he made his historic flights from Governors Island, N. Y., around the Statue of Liberty and to Grant's Tomb and return, during the Hudson-Fulton celebration. These flights constituted the outstanding feature of the celebration, and resulted in the formation of the American Wright Company.

Subsequent flights were now watched with passionate interest by newspapers, and full reports increased the Wrights' fame in their own country. They made many fresh records, and fully held their own with other men who had now entered the field.

In their business dealings they encountered many difficulties. They finally concluded negotiations in England, France, Germany, Italy and America. But while they received very material rewards for their

efforts, they did not attain anything like the wealth which this prodigious invention would certainly have earned for men more avaricious than they were.

Wilbur Wright lived to gain wide fame and recognition, but died of typhoid fever May 30, 1912, just as the airplane was approaching its modern development, which only Orville was to witness in its full glory. By many Wilbur was considered the more dominant of the two. Perhaps it was his great height and commanding countenance compared to the mild-featured Orville, which gave this impression, but it certainly was not true. At the outset of the experiments he was relatively much older and somewhat better informed, but Orville came rapidly to the front and bore an equal share of the burden, and no analysis could ascribe any experiment to one or the other of the two brothers. Griffith Brewer, an early friend of the Wrights and a famous aviation pioneer, remarks on this point: "In the arguments, if one brother took one view, the other brother took the opposite view as a matter of course, and the subject was thrashed to pieces until a mutually acceptable result remained. I have often been asked since these pioneer days, 'Tell me, Brewer, who was really the originator of those two?' In reply, I used first to say, 'I think it was mostly Wilbur,' and later, when I came to know Orville better, I said, 'The thing could not hav-

been done without Orville.' Now when asked, I find I have to say, 'I don't know,' and I feel, the more I think of it, that it was only the wonderful combination of these two brothers, who devoted their lives together to this common object, that made the discovery of the art of flying possible.''

After his brother's death, Orville continued to live quietly in Dayton with his sister Katherine and old Bishop Wright. He built a more modern aerodynamic laboratory, continued his scientific experimentation and his flying. During the war, he received his commission as Major in the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps—and strange to say, was not asked to pass a flying examination! He rendered invaluable service in an advisory capacity during the war. He remains a great authority on every phase of aviation, consulted in every difficult phase of the art.

The brothers always hated publicity, remained modest at the very height of their success, and such Orville has remained to this very day, seeking always to avoid publicity, hating nothing so much as the eulogy of banquets and ceremonies, always a simple American gentleman.

Space will not permit us to describe how the great work of the Wrights was followed by the rapid development of the airplane in every civilized country, how speed, altitude, duration and safety constantly

increased, how important, and towards the end of the war, how overwhelming a role the airplane was called upon to play, and how rapid has been its extension to the field of commercial application since the war.

December 17th, 1923, marked the 20th anniversary of the first flight, and a great demonstration was held in Dayton in honor of the famous inventor, and the achievements of this year epitomized the great work of the intervening twenty. Lieutenants John A. Macready and Oakley Kelly flew across the continent in a non-stop flight from New York to San Diego, California, covering a distance of some 2500 miles in 26 hours. Lt. Maughan, also of the Army Air Service, flew in one day, between dawn and dusk, following the sun, from New York to San Francisco. Lt. "Al" Williams, once a pitcher for the New York Giants, won the Pullitzer Race at St. Louis in a Curtiss Navy racer flying 246 miles an hour, more than four miles a minute. The Post Office Department, with its pilots flying by night across the prairie between Chicago and Cheyenne, Wyoming, on a route illuminated by giant beacons of 600,000,000 candle power, carried letters from New York to San Francisco in an average time of twenty-eight hours. Besides these wonderful records, the airplane had become undoubtedly the first arm of our national defense, likely to render our coasts impregnable to all attack.

It was rendering service in the survey and fire protection of immense forest areas, which armies of men had been unable to do. Aerial photography assumed extraordinary proportions. Aerial surveying was helping the engineer in laying railroads and power lines, in finding oil and other valuable deposits. The Coast Guards were throwing lines aboard ships, which could be reached in no other way. Down south, successful experiments proved that the only way to fight the boll-weevil was to spray it with deadly calcium arsenate from the wings of a plane.

Nowadays the sight of a plane in the air does not provide the wonderful thrill, the awe-inspiring experience of the early flights at Kill Devil Hill and at Dayton. Even flying itself is not so much of an adventure, though nothing can quite equal the sensation of a first flight, when the earth seems to drop away from our feet and men become mere specks.

But the history of the conquest of the air will always thrill us. And not only its history as a glorious achievement in the field of human invention, but as a history of two great men who had to form their own young minds to the tremendous tasks; who used native intellect and ingenuity to solve scientific problems that had baffled the most learned; who demonstrated that nothing is impossible to the pioneer spirit of young America; who overcame the discouragement

of neighbors, friends and family, the ridicule of the world in the carrying through of a great idea; who faced with equanimity every sort of financial difficulty and achieved success with their own most slendor resources; who met success with modesty and sought but a small reward for their great boon to mankind: Wilbur and Orville Wright.

CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT

1834–

LIBERAL EDUCATION

CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT

LIBERAL EDUCATION

By P. W. WILSON

ON Thursday, March 20th, 1924, Charles William Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, celebrated his ninetieth birthday. If Gladstone was the Grand Old Man of England, Eliot has been the Grand Old Man of America, a man born three years before Queen Victoria ascended the throne, who was President of Harvard two years before the Hohenzollerns founded the German Empire, who continued President of Harvard for forty years, and is today alert in body and mind five years after the German Empire collapsed in ruins.

For prolongation such a career has few, if any, parallels in the world, and none, I think, in the United States. President Eliot has witnessed the development of railways, of steamships, of ironclads, of submarines, of airplanes, of breech-loading guns, of the telegraph, of the telephone, of two-cent postage, of radio, of automobiles, of newspapers, of X-ray, of

elevators, of skyscrapers and, last but not least, of golf. And at the end of it all I found him, a day or two ago, an enthusiastic and even exuberant optimist. From his severe and prolonged ordeal he emerges with faith unshaken in God and man.

Inundated with good wishes and compelled firmly to decline innumerable requests for interviews, it was the more gracious of President Eliot to allow me to share his morning in friendly and intimate conversation, not indeed to be quoted, but invaluable as a disclosure of the man himself. His house in Cambridge, there on Freshpond Parkway, is a home perfected by countless touches which yield a considered finality to the setting of the familiar furniture, the hanging of the chosen engravings, the arrangement of those domestic gods which preside over the well-ordered hearth. Everything here belongs. And nothing is for mere show.

"A TEMPLE OF PEACE"

If Gladstone's library at Hawarden Castle was "a temple of peace," so is Eliot's study. And with this difference: To Gladstone any book was a sacred thing, and he would as soon have discarded a volume from his shelves as a Hindu would slay a sacred calf. But President Eliot has selected his companions of the mind. The books that one sees are comparatively few,

but they are the best. And there is no jostling. If a book is worth its place, then the place is found for it.

And as he sits at his desk, with his air of intense concentration on the work in hand, the profile of Dr. Eliot recalls the ultimate Gladstone, save perhaps for this—Gladstone, unaccustomed to merriment, had a dour and drooping mouth, whereas Eliot, with all his masterful and aristocratic bearing, gives way to keen humor.

"This you may say from me," he remarked, "that what our young men need is to choose the work in life in which they can find joy." And with a face radiant with zest he repeated the word "joy," adding, "That is the secret. Don't you agree?"

Inevitably we discussed whether the enormous material advances of the past ninety years had added to or detracted from the sum total of human well being. Dr. Eliot's smile was the verdict. How could one doubt that—as Dr. Coué would put it—every day and in every way we are happier and happier?

"The war?" I interjected.

But he was disinclined to make a serious reservation even of the war. For Dr. Eliot is a true New Englander. And he has the New Englander's faith in democratic institutions. Indeed, he cannot quite forgive his old friend, James Bryce, for accepting a peerage. His opinion of titles is sufficiently indicated by

the fact that this President Emeritus of a great university, adorned by degrees too numerous to be mentioned, is known to his friends simply and sufficiently as "Mr. Eliot." And it is this faith in democracy which has carried him through the dark days of the war. For whatever may have been the losses of the war, did it not result in an enormous extension of democracy throughout the world? That is "Mr. Eliot's" point of view.

WE ARE BETTER GOVERNED

So with little incidents at Washington, not to be too precisely specified. Faced by phenomena, like the inquiry into the oil reserves and similar alleged irregularities, President Eliot does not lose his large vision. He believes that the United States is far better governed today than she was when he started life. And while he is cautiously reticent over the growing influence of the universities in public life, his usually reflective eyes gleam with subdued delight when he recalls how this or that Harvard man has been found faithful in the administration of some high office.

In some respects Dr. Eliot is curiously conservative. I asked him, as a distinguished student of physical science, whether he could mention any new addition made during his lifetime to our knowledge of the real nature of matter. By the question I intended to im-

ply an inquiry not into the way matter behaves but what it actually is. Did we know anything now that was not known ninety years ago?

"Nothing," was the laconic and indeed whimsical answer, "so far as my reading goes." And the negative was characteristic. In a man of President Eliot's age you might have expected that there would be a certain inexactitude of language during a conversation which lasted for an hour and a half. Yet one listened in vain for a redundant word. The explanation of his simple, nervous English is perhaps this: as a rule, a man so literary as he may be found only in his library. And, as a rule, a man so deeply versed in chemistry as he may be found only in his laboratory. But Dr. Eliot is the chemist in the library and the litterateur in the laboratory. In what he says one finds the lucidity of a mathematical formula illuminated by that choice of words which is what we mean by "style." His speech cuts straight to the bone.

For instance, I mentioned his recent article on religion in *The Atlantic Monthly,* about which he was fascinatingly frank. The article dealt with the unchurched masses and a friend had told him that it "slumped" in the middle—did I think so? I answered that it was the middle of the article, with its remarks on Fundamentalism, that would have tempted me into an argument. And then he suddenly threw

up his hands, as it were, and declared that there was nothing in the article which he had not derived from his father and his grandfather; in their day, they had all that their distinguished son is telling the world now!

HIS PHILOSOPHY DERIVED FROM OTHERS

For it is a fixed axiom in Dr. Eliot's analysis of his own character and career that he has never had an original idea in his head. As a concession to the incredulous caller, he will admit that sometimes, on the spur of the moment, he has said something which may sound fresh and inspiring. But, in the main, his philosophy is—according to his own account—wholly derived from others and especially from books. This is his unassuming estimate of the position. Indeed, I was left to infer that Woodrow Wilson's ideals were not as original to himself as it has been sometimes assumed, but were also drawn from what he read. For a man who "does things" such derived ideas are—if I understood Dr. Eliot rightly—a necessity.

The truth is that in Eliot, as in Woodrow Wilson, we find a type of public man unknown outside the United States, that is, the college President who is learned and scholarly, but also an administrator, a statesman, an executive, devoted to affairs, many of which affect the nation as well as the great institution

over which he presides. For close original research he has not the time. He is bound, therefore, to act upon the achievements of others, whose scope is narrower but, within that scope, deeper. Eliot is, in the strict sense, an educator. The pioneers discover the promised land; he leads the people into it.

About President Eliot's verdict on President Eliot there is thus a detachment as charming as it is complete. He talks of himself as he would talk of a third person. He weighs himself in the balance as if he had the duty of appointing himself to a professor. And what interests him in his career—so he is modestly inclined to say—is the astonishing time when he lived.

"Pasteur!" he exclaimed. "Why he was a revelation."

And Pasteur was but one of the men who unlocked the key of the universe. Into that ever-widening world of eighty years ago there plunged the eager boy of whose innocent escapades the memory of the President Emeritus of Harvard is still vivid and exact. Think of him, when not yet 10 years old, setting two chairs in his bedroom, back to back and so resting on them a lid of tin, on which he had improvised a lamp out of candles. By this flickering light he would read far beyond the hour appointed by "nurse."

"Over Milton's 'Paradise Lost,'" remarked Dr. Eliot, with a whimsical smile, "I wept."

"Wept!" I exclaimed. "I have heard of people weeping over 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' but over Milton's 'Paradise Lost'—surely you must have been the first!"

"It was when Adam and Eve were turned out of the Garden of Eden that I wept," was the reminiscent answer.

Then, how chilly was the dawn of that boy's home in those days before there was steam heat. "Nurse" would set out "the hip bath" where often the water would freeze. And the child who didn't approve of so cold an ablution would slip into the room, as in duty bound, break the ice, splash the water on the floor and even damp the towel as camouflage for the more complete cleanliness at which his soul shuddered. And then, an hour before all others, this ingenious little boy would be found in the one warm parlor, curled up in his father's big chair, where, while breakfast was brewing, he would bask in front of the fire and read the Bible, which he did straight through, omitting nothing, but not always enjoying it or understanding what it meant. That he stuck to the task is now a matter of pride to the great man of whom that small boy was, as the proverb puts it, the father. Indeed, there were afternoons, even Sunday afternoons, when he would steal away to the parental library and read novels by Scott and by Dickens—stories not held in those days to be legitimate for a Puritan Sabbath.

About Eliot in his youth we thus detect a touch of the rebel. In his eagerness for the fuller life he was impatient of frontiers and sometimes broke the bounds.

The outstanding mile posts in the career of Charles W. Eliot may be quickly indicated. Born in what Oliver Wendell Holmes called "Boston's Brahmin caste," his father was Treasurer of Harvard. Indeed, his father was several times Mayor of Boston. Young Eliot specialized in science at Harvard. He began his leading career as a tutor of mathematics at Harvard in 1854. From 1865 to 1869 he studied chemistry in Europe. He returned to accept the Chair of Analytical Chemistry in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Dr. Eliot's executive ability was so far recognized in Massachusetts that he was offered and refused what was then the good salary of $5,000 a year as superintendent over some mills at Lowell, and at that period no man made greater personal sacrifices for the teaching profession.

Still it was only after much hesitation that in 1869 he was elected President of Harvard. His views of religion were alarmingly broad. And he had written in *The Atlantic Monthly* two articles on educational policy which, while they aroused enthusiasm in some quarters, provoked nervousness in others.

HIS RECORD AS PRESIDENT OF HARVARD

The result of his appointment may be summed up briefly in the statement that, during the long term, education became "elective," compulsory chapel was abolished, the number of students grew from 1,000 to 5,000, the invested funds increased from $8,000,000 to $14,000,000 and the income of Harvard nearly trebled. His views on education were embodied in reports the length of which became a proverb, and there is a story that on one occasion Roosevelt was advised to abbreviate one of his more voluminous messages to Congress, since otherwise people would find it as long as a report by Eliot.

"If as many people read my message as read Eliot's reports," answered Roosevelt, himself a Harvard man, "I shall be well satisfied."

Eliot was, indeed, President of much more than Harvard. He has been the recognized spokesman of the rapidly developing American University.

In religion, Dr. Eliot is Unitarian and therefore mistrustful of what he considers to be the imposition of creeds, ceremonies and sacraments on the people, who are, he thinks, inclined more and more firmly to resist the views of the churches in respect of such matters. He stands for the observation of the senses, for the use of ear, eye and touch, as a substitute for nepticism and symbolism. And he thinks that we have been too ex-

clusively educated by the use of literature and not enough by the ascertained facts of the world in which we live. He thus advocates the further training of the hand, as directed by the sight, and believes that such instruction may be associated with a reverence as sincere as any inculcated through the narrower or dogmatic views of God as he regards them. Dr. Eliot is therefore, a modernist who would encourage everyone to "select" his own calling. But, in that calling, he requires work, assiduous work, which work he believes to be in itself an invaluable part of education through life. He dislikes "authority" in religion—that is the authority of the churches. He believes that such "authority" leads the churches into a regrettable alliance with "authority" in the state—the authority which depends on force and is apt to provoke wars. Dr. Eliot would like to see geography taught on scientific rather than political lines—namely, by geology and ethnography. And a world, so understood anew, would be best guided, so he thinks, through a league or brotherhood of nations.

When I talked with President Eliot it seemed as if he was almost unconscious of the magnitude of his achievement. Perhaps it was, as he once said, that "the name of a President is written in water." Perhaps it was that even today his present is too precious to be wasted on his past. Some one will some day

compose an essay showing why the "radicalism" of Eliot survived at Harvard while the radicalism of Woodrow Wilson was interrupted at Princeton. It may be that the clue to the mystery is to be found in an anecdote which Professor E. Emerton tells of Eliot in the Harvard Graduates' Magazine. When he was appointed President, Eliot was only 35 years old. And a friend said to him: "I think your administration will be a success if you can show one quality, which I am not sure you possess."

"What is that?" asked Eliot, "knowledge of men?"

The answer was "No."

"Good judgment?"

The answer again was "No."

"Appreciation of scholars?"

Again "No."

"What then?" asked Eliot.

"Patience," said his friend. And the President never forgot the hint. In the dreadful duty of listening to discussions among the Faculty he was indefatigable, and would say at the end of a long day:

"Oh, I can stand a good deal of this sort of thing."

And he never put a black mark against a man who opposed him. He assumed, and rightly, that no professor would oppose the President save from a sense of duty. On the other hand, he could be severe on

insincerity. A distinguished preacher was suggested for a service in the university.

"I will have nothing to do with it," said President Eliot; "the man is a liar."

In another case a gentleman of great eminence was asked to deliver a course of lectures. The faculty was enthusiastic for having them printed.

"Hadn't we better hear these lectures first?" asked the President quietly. And the lectures never were printed.

He judged of men by their faces and also by another test. About a young scholar of rising reputation, who might be a suitable professor, he asked suddenly: "Is his wife a civilized person?" And another was passed over with the remark: "His wife is a she-devil."

Yet a young esthete was duly appointed despite the question, "Where did he get that sappy manner?" Dr. Eliot recognized that the sappy manner concealed solid worth. What he looked for were "the essentials of the academic character." And in a professor nothing else mattered. Also he had courage. It was not a small matter to refuse the honorary degree, which Harvard had, as a matter of course, conferred on each successive Governor of Massachusetts. No man save a great man would have stood up to one such Governor,

Benjamin F. Butler, as Eliot did in 1883, and rebuke his materialist view of education with the words:

"You must learn the eternal worth of character."

There was a roar of applause in the audience. The shot had struck straight home.

On his retirement as President of Harvard in 1909 Dr. Eliot was presented with a purse of $150,000. All manner of honors were showered upon him. President Taft asked him to go to London as American Ambassador, and it was hinted that President Wilson, four years later, renewed the suggestion. He preferred a personal liberty. He traveled widely.

"A HUMAN PURITAN"

Dr. Eliot's output of opinion is enormous. He has been for years a kind of unofficial writer of ethical editorials for a grateful press. Many of his most characteristic letters have appeared in *The New York Times*. The recent index in this office contains over 300 entries and covers an immense variety of subjects. What Dr. Eliot says as "a human Puritan" is never diffuse. It is always to the point. And it is always actuated by the highest motives. At the industrial conferences in Washington his grave impartiality produced a great impression with both capital and labor.

He is still as much as ever at work. He is still as keenly alive as ever to what is happening in the world.

He is still as eager as ever for new points of view. I have read hints that his tone is dictatorial, but I should have said that he is a most admirable listener and an adept in exchanging idea for idea.

"And now," he would say, "I am going to ask you some questions."

And they were very searching questions. He wanted to know why the British trade unions were Socialist while the American Federation of Labor was anti-Socialist; and he wanted also to know whether it was true that at Oxford and Cambridge the poor boy from the elementary school often did better in his examinations than the richer boy from Eton and Harrow. I said that, so far I knew, this was certainly the case, but that sometimes the boy from Eton and Harrow, even if he had "fewer brains," did better than his more intellectual rival when it came to governing a colony. But I gathered that Dr. Eliot was on the side, not of the boy with birth, but of the boy with brains. And to all young people, his advice has been, "Look out, not in."

For as an educator, Dr. Eliot has always been fond of making his own phrases for his own ideas. "The new religion," he has said, "will not be based upon authority, either spiritual or temporal; the present generation is ready to be led, not driven." Hence, he holds that "standardization has become a dangerous adversary of progress in both education and in-

dustry;" and that, in particular, "a child should have no part in any machine industry indoors—never!" "Christ," he thinks, "will be the supreme teacher," and "the church of the future will have more reverence for the personality of Jesus * * * It will see neither deities nor demons in the forces and processes of nature. It will rob death of its terrors. It will dwell on goodness, life and truth. The brotherhood of men will be its outcome." "We must have," he says, "a large and democratic force to help preserve peace."

On universities, he declares that "nobody now accepts numbers as conclusive evidence of the prosperity of any of the several divisions of an American university." Indeed, he has even attacked football which he denounces as "fierce." Football is, he holds, "an undesirable game for gentlemen to play or for multitudes of spectators to watch. His prescription for health is; "How to live long—Go to church. Keep a clean heart and a good conscience. Give your mind exercise as well as your body—really think. Exercise regularly, eat in moderation, take a full allowance of sleep. Avoid indulgence in luxuries and the habitual use of any drug whatsoever—not only of alcohol, but of tobacco, tea and coffee."

Indeed, his view of such matters is conservative. And two brief quotations will illustrate this; "Too

small a proportion of college women marry. Twenty-five years ago the sort of women who went to college were not the most attractive physically, however they may have been mentally, but now all is changed.'' ''I believe no restriction of the birth rate can be supported, either by morals or economics. The durable satisfactions of life depend upon having the normal number of children, and the normal number of children is five or six to the family. A mother should bear a child every two years.''

Again; ''Female teachers can never expect to be as highly rewarded as men teachers, since few women enter the profession of teaching with the idea of making it a life's work.''

AGAINST RACE PREJUDICE

Our talk ranged, hither and thither, over the prospects of education. Was it true, I asked, that students graduating from high school had, as some have asserted, ''the mentality of 14 years old,'' whatever that may be? Here also Dr. Eliot's views were clearly and alertly expressed, sometimes with a phrase which lacked nothing of forceful vigor. Broadly, I take it that he mistrusts ''recommendations'' from schools to universities as a substitute for examinations, and his firm faith in open competition was shown in what I took to be his profound disapproval of prejudices against particular races.

It is man, as man, whatever be his race, whatever be his complexion, that Dr. Eliot respects and whose interests he would serve. But I can well appreciate what is meant by those who describe him as an aristocrat. In that respect he is a true son of Boston. You must, however, interpret the word aristocrat in the true sense, the sense of the Greek language to which the word belongs. Eliot believes in "the rule of the best," not because it is born best but because it has become the best by study, by sacrifice, by discipline and by "joy." That is, I suppose, why he believes in examinations. There, in black and white, you have what the man can do. You decide his position in society, not by his looks, not by his family, not by his race, but by his objective efficiency. By his words he is justified and by his words he is condemned.

As I rose to leave I expressed the hope that I had not tired a most considerate host. In a moment I was almost sorry that I had said it, for Dr. Eliot drew himself up and replied with cheerful briskness:

"No. I have some little work now to do and I feel well able to do it."

He wanted to know how I was expecting to return to Boston, and insisted on assuring himself that a taxi was at the door. And he left on my mind a glimpse, as we shook hands, of a man, upright in body and mind, full of good spirits, wholly unafraid of death,

wholly glad to be himself. That he could criticize others was evident. But his criticisms were judicial and devoid of emotion. And behind all he said was a certain motive—not the pursuit of knowledge as such, not the pursuit of wealth and power as such, but what the Declaration of Independence calls the pursuit of happiness. It is as an expert on happiness that President Eliot now celebrates his ninetieth birthday. And on the art of happiness he is, perhaps, the greatest living expert.

AUTHORITIES

The major part of this story of the eminent educator was contributed by the author to the New York Sunday Times in March, 1924.

PREFATORY NOTE

This edition of Beacon Lights of History compresses sixteen full size Volumes within the covers of eight Books. For the sake of clarity it has been decided to retain in this Index the volume numbers of the large set. The sub-joined table shows the location of each Volume, Volumes i and ii make up Book 1, Volumes iii and iv make up Book 2, etc.

Vol. i, Vol. ii — Book 1.	Vol. iii, Vol. iv — Book 2.	Vol. v, Vol. vi — Book 3.
Vol. vii, Vol. viii — Book 4.	Vol. ix, Vol. x — Book 5.	Vol. xi, Vol. xii — Book 6.
Vol. xiii, Vol. xiv — Book 7.	Vol. xv, Vol. xvi — Book 8.	

THE WORLD'S HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL VIEW

The following Chronological View serves to guide the reader who wants to follow a continuous story of the world's life from the earliest records to the present. How weary narrative history becomes to many by its mere length. Dr. Lord so found it; the more he read thousands of volumes the more he saw the need of breaking it into topics, of stripping away a vast amount of detail and focussing attention on the *special interests* that have absorbed men and women, as we see it around us in actual life—as a Shakespeare saw it and reproduced it in historic drama.

By fifty years of lecturing in schools and colleges and by addressing audiences in city and country he saw the way to invest history with fresh interest, to make it a vital living experience, and to imprint on the mind indelible pictures of the time and the events and to make clear the whole course to modern eyes. His "Beacon Lights" thus become a series of superb entertainments to beguile the leisure hour, to profit the earnest student, to refresh the weary worker and to stimulate the indifferent to acquaintance with the great game of life in all the ages, recent and remote.

Old Pagan and Hebrew Civilizations.

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EGYPT, ASSYRIA, PHŒNICIA, PERSIA, ETC.:		
Ancient Religions	I	5000
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Old Pagan and Hebrew Civilizations, continued.

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Samuel	II	1100
ISRAELITISH CONQUESTS:		
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STORY OF THE HEBREW MONARCHY:		
Solomon	II	993–953
DIVISION OF THE JEWISH KINGDOM:		
Elijah	II	IXth century
CLASSIC MYTHOLOGY:		
Greek and Roman Religions (Homer to Julius Cæsar)	I	850–44
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Ancient Philosophy (Thales to Aristotle and Zeno)	I	640–264
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PREFATORY NOTE

This edition of Beacon Lights of History compresses sixteen full size Volumes within the covers of eight Books. For the sake of clarity it has been decided to retain in this Index the volume numbers of the large set. The sub-joined table shows the location of each Volume, Volumes i and ii make up Book 1, Volumes iii and iv make up Book 2, etc.

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